UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

THE CESTUS

SAMUEL LOOMIS MOHLER

A THESIS
IN LATIN
PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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PREFACE

The poet Martial includes in his book of *Apophoreta* two poems descriptive of the *cestus*:[1]

206 Cestos

Collo necte, puer, meros amores,
ceston de Veneris sinu calentem.

207 *Idem*

Sume Cytheriaco medicatum nectare ceston:
ussit amatorem balteus iste Iovem.

Even if the word *puer* did not inform us at once that the object was intended as a present for a boy, from the scheme of arrangement followed in this book we should be led to assume that these two poems were closely associated with the preceding one, 205, which describes a *puer*.[2] Accordingly, when modern scholars insist that the *cestus* was a breast-binder, such as is seen wrapped two or three times around the bosoms of certain female figures,[3] we at once become suspicious that an error has crept in somewhere. Further reflection that a breast-binder or brassiere would not usually be put around the neck convinces us that the whole subject needs reconsideration. The following pages represent an attempt to correlate afresh the literary and archaeological evidence as to the form and nature of the *cestus*. Obviously the way to approach the subject is first to examine the ancient references to the *cestus*, and then see if we can find in works of art anything which will correspond with the descriptions of Greek and Roman writers.

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[1] XIV 206, 207.

[2] Cf. Mart. XIV 1.5 f.:

divitis alternas et pauperis accipe sortes:
praemia convivae dent sua quisque suo.

The principle of the grouping is illustrated by 222; *Pistor dulciarius*, and 223; *Adipata* (a sample of the baker's wares). For the occurrence of two or more poems describing the same gift cf. 8, 9 (matched with 7); 116–118 (with 119?); 124, 125 (with 126); 157, 158 (with 156); 168, 169 (with 164 ?); 165, 166 (with 167). In the majority of these cases of duplication, as in 206, 207, there is nothing to indicate that a couplet has been lost, or that the original order of the poems has been disturbed. See Friedländer's edition vol. II, pp. 295–300; Theodor Birt, *Das Antike Buchwesen*, pp. 74 (bottom), 78.

[3] See below, pp. 26 f.

In general, the problems to be solved assume two aspects: what was the form of the *cestus* at a given period; and what significance did it possess? The importance of the second phase of the question becomes apparent when we compare the two couplets of Martial quoted above with the first reference to the object, in the *Iliad*. In the epic poem the κεστὸς ἱμάς is the possession of Aphrodite, a potent love-charm, which she lends to her sister-goddess, Hera, on a very special occasion.[4] Martial's *cestus*, on the other hand, was to be given to a human youth, who very possibly thought of it as a mere ornament.[5] When did the change from sacred attribute to human adornment take place? Was it ever complete, or were there two different forms of the *cestus*, one worn by the goddess, the other by mortals? Was the *cestus* ever a real charm, worn by men and women for the purpose of promoting love through its supposed magical power? The answer to these questions will have important bearing on the probable development of the object; for anything universally recognized as having religious or occult power is less likely to undergo radical changes than a mere ornament.[6]

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[4] See below, p. 5.

[5] Cf. Festus, p. 45(M): Caestus vocantur et hi, quibus pugiles dimicant, et *genus quoddam ornatus mulierum*. See below, pp. 19 f.

[6] A cross or a rabbit's foot does not vary from generation to generation, but a necklace may be of any size or material desired.

I

The first mention of the object with which we are concerned occurs in Homer:[1]

ἦ καὶ ἀπὸ στήθεσφιν ἐλύσατο κεστὸν ἱμάντα
ποικίλον, ἔνθα τέ οἱ θελκτήρια πάντα τέτυκτο
ἔνθ' ἔνι μὲν φιλότης, ἐν δ' ἵμερος, ἐν δ' ὀαριστὺς
πάρφασις, ἥ τ' ἔκλεψε νόον πύκα περ φρονεόντων.
τόν ῥά οἱ ἔμβαλε χερσὶν ἔπος τ' ἔφατ' ἔκ τ' ὀνόμαζεν·
'τῆ νῦν, τοῦτον ἱμάντα τεῷ ἐγκάτθεο κόλπῳ,
ποικίλον, ᾧ ἔνι πάντα τετεύχαται· οὐδέ σέ φημι
ἄπρηκτόν γε νέεσθαι, ὅ τι φρεσὶ σῇσι μενοινᾷς.'
ὣς φάτο, μείδησεν δὲ βοῶπις πότνια Ἥρη,
μειδήσασα δ' ἔπειτα ἑῷ ἐγκάτθετο κόλπῳ.

'Therewith from her breast she loosed the broidered girdle, fair-wrought, wherein are all her enchantments; therein are love, and desire, and loving converse, that steals the wits even of the wise. This girdle she laid in her hands, and spake, and said: 'Lo now, take this girdle and lay it up in thy bosom, this fair-wrought girdle in which all things are fashioned; methinks thou wilt not return with that unaccomplished, which in thy heart thou desirest.'
So spake she, and the ox-eyed lady Hera smiled, and smiling laid up the zone within her breast."[2]

Although the translations "girdle" and "zone" are here used, it is really impossible to determine from Homer's account just what the *κεστὸς ἱμάς* was. The substantive implies that it was probably of leather; the adjective, *κεστός*, conveys the idea that it was "pierced" or "stitched."[3] The word does not occur elsewhere in the epic poems, but the expression *κεστὸν ἱμάντα*

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[1] *Il.* XIV 214–223. See *ibid.*, 313–353 for his account of the effect it produced.

[2] Translation of Lang, Leaf and Myers.

[3] Cf. Schol. *Il.* XIV 214: *κεστὸν ἱμάντα] ζωστῆρα, οὕτω καλύμενον ἀπὸ τοῦ πολυκέντητον αὐτὸν εἶναι ταῖς ῥαφαῖς.* Eustath. *ad loc.*: *Ἐτυμολογεῖται δὲ ὁ κεστὸς παρὰ τὸ κένσαι, ὅ ἐστι κεντῆσαι.* Boisöacq, *Dictionnaire Etymologique de la Langue Grecque s.v.*, accepts this etymology; Fick, *Vergl. Wörterb.* I, p. 531, derives it from the same root as *κείω* and *κεάζω*.

has a close parallel in the words πολύκεστος ἱμάς applied to the chin-strap of Paris' helmet.[4] Both objects were apparently of leather, and "pierced," perhaps embroidered. The adjective, ποικίλον applied to our object shows that it possessed the beauty of fine workmanship.[5] And the similarity of the word κεστός with πολύκεστος, which is used of a warrior's helmet-strap, suggests that it was something real which the poet had actually seen worn by women of his time, or represented in works of art.[6]

The words ἀπὸ στήθεσφιν ἐλύσατο imply in a general way that the object was removed, "loosed," from Aphrodite's breasts: it may have been a girdle bound around them or immediately beneath them, an object fastened over or between them,[7] or a pendant suspended between them by means of a necklace.[8] Recognition of this last alternative is made possible by the

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[4] *Il.* III 371.

[5] ποικίλος usually has this meaning in the Iliad and Odyssey. Cf. *Il.* III 326–329:

οἱ μὲν ἔπειθ' ἵζοντο κατὰ στίχας, ἧχι ἑκάστῳ
ἵπποι ἀερσίποδες καὶ ποικίλα τεύχε' ἔκειτο·
αὐτὰρ ὅ γ' ἀμφ' ὤμοισιν ἐδύσετο τεύχεα καλὰ
δῖος Ἀλέξανδρος.

Il. VI 504 κατέδυ κλυτὰ τεύχεα, ποικίλα χαλκῷ.

Il. XVI 133 f. θώρηκα. . . . . .ποικίλον ἀστερόεντα. *Il.* X 322 ἅρματα ποικίλα χαλκῷ. (With this cf. *ibid.* 438: ἅρμα δέ οἱ χρυσῷ τε καὶ ἀργύρῳ εὖ ἤσκηται). The adjective may also be applied to a πέπλος, *Il.* V 735, *Il.* VIII 386, *Od.* XVIII 292 f. It has the meaning of "spotted" when applied to a fawn (*Od.* XIX 228) or a leopard (*Il.* X 29 f.); and of "variegated" when used of flowers (*Il.* XXII 441). In one instance—and that in the Odyssey—it apparently conveys the idea of mere intricacy, *Od.* VIII 447f. δεσμὸν . . . ποικίλον.

[6] Contrast Leaf's note: "The pierced (embroidered) strap . . . does not seem to be an article of apparel. ἀπὸ στήθεσφι shows that it was worn in a different place from the ζώνη,, which in the early Greek dress lay low in the waist, not over the breast. . . It is probably merely symbolical of the power of love to bind together two lovers."

[7] Cf. Helbig, *Homer. Epos*, p. 211, and Ameis' note on *Il. l.c.*: ". . . einen gemusterten Riemen, nicht Gürtel, der vielmehr an einer sehr tiefen Stelle des Leibes getragen wurde. Aphrodite trägt es scheifenartig an einer Öse, einer Fibula oder einen Heften des Brustschitzes befestigt, nicht als ein Stück weibliches Schmuckes, sondern als Zaubermittel." W. Crooke, *Folklore* xix (1908), p. 70: "In the Iliad we meet the magic strap or girdle of Aphrodite, which seems to have been placed in a loose fold of the robe as a mimetic charm to promote union with the beloved one." (But see below, p. 7, for the supposed magic power of the κεστὸς ἱμάς.)

[8] Cf. the translation of Jacob Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie* I, p. 284, "von ihrem hals löst," below, p. 40. See also the remark of Ohnefalsch-Richter, below, pp. 33 f.

fact that in the Homeric Hymns the ὅρμος is referred to as an ornament of the breasts as well as the neck.[9]

From the expression, ἑῷ ἐγκάτθετο κόλπῳ, "she put it into the opening at the top of her dress,"[10] we may infer that the object was small, although it cannot be assumed that the *cestus* was always worn in the position described here, since Hera may simply have placed it there for convenience or secrecy. A negative inference that may safely be drawn is that the κεστὸς ἱμάς of Homer was not an essential part of a woman's attire, such as a girdle or breast-binder. It was transferred from one goddess to the other quickly and easily, apparently without disarranging their garments.

The words of the passage leave no doubt in our minds as to the supernatural power of the κεστὸς ἱμάς as worn by Aphrodite. It is probably safe to assume that the goddess was endowed with the object by human worshippers who wore something at least closely resembling it; but we are not justified in any assumption that the object thus worn was thought of as possessing the occult power of inspiring love. Instead of its having been a "Zaubermittel" or "mimetic charm"[11] in itself, it may just as well have been an ornament which owed all its efficacy to its association with the goddess of love.[12]

The sum total of information to be gathered from these lines of the *Iliad* appears to be that the κεστὸς ἱμάς was of leather, "pierced," and probably bore some resemblance to a helmet-strap; it was an object of beauty; it was small, and was worn in such a way that it had to be removed "from the breasts." It was endowed with the power of the goddess to whom it belonged. For more definite knowledge of the nature of the *cestus* we must seek elsewhere; and there is such a gap in the literary evidence that we cannot be certain that the same object is referred to by later writers. Indeed the probability of its

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[9] See below, pp. 37 f.

[10] For the meaning of κόλπος see Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros, Homer and the Bible* vol. I, p. 306.

[11] See above, n. 7.

[12] Cf. the κρηδέμνον which the sea-goddess Ino Leucothea gave to the ship-wrecked Odysseus, and thereby transferred to him her own power of living in the water without suffering harm, *Od.* V 346–350, 373, 459–462.

having undergone changes in the intervening centuries is so great that we shall have to rely chiefly on the evidence of archaeology to throw light on this first account of Aphrodite's talisman.

Unfortunately we must pass over the whole period of Hellenic and Hellenistic Greek literature to the time of Varro to find our next reference to the *cestus*. He speaks of a use of the term on the part of persons whom he could call *antiqui:*[13] Sub eam ubi nascitur uva, subiciuntur circiter bipedales e furcibus furcillae, ne vindemia pereat, et vindemia facta denique discat pendere in palmam aut funiculo aut vinctu quod antiqui vocabant cestum. The thought of the passage, where the text cannot be definitely established, seems to be, so far as it concerns our problem, as follows: when the grapes start to form, little forked sticks about two feet long are placed under this (the grape-bearing part of the vine) in order that the grapes may not spoil, but (even before the vintage has been completed) may learn the art of hanging on the vine in bunch form, with the aid of the cord or binder which the ancients called a *cestus* (the implication being that they are later to hang in a storeroom). Varro's introduction of the idea of learning is perhaps a mild bit of humor. It may be hard to visualize the manner in which these grapes were supported, but since Columella warns against the practice of tying the vine under the support,[14] it is probable that we are to think of the vine with its bunches of grapes as being placed over the crotch and being held in position by a cord or band, which would be drawn over it diagonally. If adherents of the theory that the *cestus* was a breast-binder wished to find positive evidence for their belief in this passage, they would have to demonstrate that the *vinctus* referred to was a band tied around the vine horizontally, and I, for one, cannot see how such an object would serve any useful purpose. However, perhaps the chief importance of this passage for us lies in the evidence it offers that something called a *cestus* was a familiar object even to rustics some time before the age of Varro. It is impossible to determine whether this familiarity was gained

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[13] *R. R.*, I 8.6.
[14] Columella IV 26 (end).

purely from works of art or from the actual wearing of the object by men and women.[15]

Antiphanes of Macedonia[16] follows Homer in having Aphrodite remove the *cestus* from her breasts:[17]

> *Αὐτή σοι Κυθέρεια τὸν ἱμερόεντ' ἀπὸ μαστῶν,*
> *Ἰνώ, λυσαμένη κεστὸν ἔδωκεν ἔχειν,*
> *ὡς ἂν θελξινόοισιν ἀεὶ φίλτροισι*[18] *δαμάζῃς*
> *ἀνέρας· ἐχρήσω δ' εἰς ἐμὲ πᾶσι μόνον.*

The first two lines, which describe the removal of the object, present the same uncertainty of interpretation as we encountered in the *locus classicus* of the *Iliad*. From the tone of the whole poem it is obvious that its author thinks of the *cestus* as a powerful, sacred charm, transferred to the human Ino only by a figure of speech.[19]

Our next reference to the *cestus* is contained in an important passage from Valerius Flaccus' *Argonauts* which must be quoted in full:[20]

> 'Da, precor, artificis blanda adspiramina [21] formae
> ornatusque tuos terra caeloque potentes.'
> sensit diva dolos iam pridem sponte requirens
> Colchida et invisi genus omne exscindere Phoebi.
> tum vero optatis potitur; nec passi precari
> ulterius dedit acre decus fecundaque monstris
> cingula, non pietas quibus aut custodia famae,

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[15] For the use of the *cestus* by mortals see above, p. 4, n. 5, below, pp. 19 f.

[16] He lived in the time of Tiberius and Caligula. See Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie* I, p. 2521.

[17] *Anth. Pal.* VI, 88.

[18] For the metaphorical use of such words as *φίλτρα* cf. Tavenner, *Studies in Magic*, pp. 34–36.

[19] Cf. such general or figurative uses of the word as *Anth. Pal.* VI 121.3 (Philodemus, 1st cent. B.C.), *καὶ κεστοῦ φωνεῦσα μαγώτερα*; Stat., *Theb.* II 283 f.; *Anth. Pal.* V 270.7 f. (Paulus Silentarius, 6th cent. A.D.):

> *χείλεα δὲ δρυσόεντα, καὶ ἡ μελίφυρτος ἐκείνη*
> *στήθεος ἁρμονίη, κεστὸς ἔφυ Παφίης.*

Aristaenetus *Epist.*, I, 10 (5th or 6th cent. A.D.); Nicet. Eugen. II 244 f. (end of 12th cent. A.D.).

[20] *Argon.* VI 465–477. (Juno is appealing to Venus to lend her the *cestus* with which to win Medea's heart for Jason.)

non pudor, at contra levis et festina cupido
adfatusque mali dulcisque labantibus error
et metus et demens alieni cura pericli.
'omne', ait, 'imperium natorumque[22] arma meorum
cuncta dedi; quascumque libet nunc concute mentes.'
cingitur arcanis Saturnia laeta venenis.

The effect produced on Medea is described in a later part of the book:[23]

Interdum blandae derepta monilia divae
contrectat miseroque aptat flagrantia collo,
quaque dedit teneros aurum furiale per artus,
deficit; ac sua virgo deae gestamina reddit,
non gemmis, non illa levi turbata metallo,
sed facibus, sed molle dei, quem pectore toto
iam tenet; extremus roseo pudor errat in ore.

If we adopt the generally accepted interpretation of these lines as a reference to the *cestus*, they convey the definite information that it was an ornament (*ornatus* 466, *acre decus* 470), composed of gold and gems (670, 672). It is referred to by the word *cingula*, but this cannot be used in the common sense of "girdle" since Medea wore it around her neck (699):[24] it must rather have the meaning of *balteus*, a shoulder-belt,[25] or else of

[21] This plural form and *ornatus* v. 466, *cingula* v. 471 and *gestamina* v. 671 are almost certainly examples of what are loosely classified as "poetic plurals," in this case used to convey an impression of the supernatural charm of the object described. (See Kühner, *Ausf. Grammatik* (1877) I, pp. 60 f.) With them contrast the singular in *aurum* v. 670. What I think is a single object described in vv. 465–477 is called *monilia* in v. 668, and is put around the neck, v. 669. This view is supported by P. Langen in his notes on the passage, W. Helbig, *Arch. Zeit.* xxiv, p. 262 n. 2, J. Heckenbach, *Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten* IX, p. 99, O. Gruppe, *Griech. Myth.* II, p. 885, n. 8.

[22] The *cestus* is here an attribute of the Cupids rather than of their mother (cf. *molle dei* 673, and Mart. VI 13.6, below, p. 11); and it gives the wearer the power of Cupid to inspire love for another, 657–680.

[23] *Ibid.* 668–674.

[24] The objection that it may have been a girdle which Medea temporarily wore as a necklace is best answered by other references to the wearing of the *cestus* around the neck, which would seem to indicate that that was the normal place for it. See P. Langen's note on 471.

[25] See below, p. 12, n. 31.

collare.[26] The word *monilia* (688) ordinarily means "necklace," though in the plural it may have the meaning of "jewels."[27] The words *aptat collo* would apply perfectly to the wearing of a necklace, though they could also be used of the act of putting on a *balteus* or shoulder-belt, such as Martial refers to. The object is almost certainly a necklace-like string of beads, and Medea may have put it on temporarily as a necklace, in spite of the fact that it was intended to be worn as a shoulder-belt.

We come now to the two poems of Martial from which our whole discussion started. In these it is a human boy who is to put the *cestus* around his neck when it is "warm from the breast of Venus."[28] In another poem, describing a statue of Julia in the guise of Venus, with Cupid at her side, he speaks of the *cestus* "which she has snatched from your neck, little Cupid":[29]

> ludit Acidalio, sed non manu aspera, nodo,
>   quem rapuit collo, parve Cupido, tuo.
> ut Martis revocetur amor summique Tonantis,
>   a te Iuno petat ceston et ipsa Venus.

Here *Acidalio nodo* is probably used by synechdoche for the thing that binds, though the suggestion has been made that it refers to the knot-like projections of a studded object.[30] At any rate the verb *ludit* may be compared with the *contrectat* in the description of Valerius Flaccus, where we are told definitely that Medea was fingering gems.

As to the manner in which Martial conceived of the *cestus* as being worn, although in this poem (v. 6) and in XIV 206 it is spoken of as being taken from the neck or placed around it, the object could not have been a mere necklace, since our author also speaks of it as a *balteus* (XIV 207.2). On the other hand,

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[26] Cf. Varro, *R. R.* II 9.15: Ne vulnerentur a bestiis, imponuntur his collaria, quae vocantur mullum, id est cingulum circum collum.

[27] Cf. Paul, *Sent.*, III 6.60: Monilibus legatis aurum vel argentum non debetur, nisi de his quoque manifeste sensisse testatorem possit ostendi; Apul., *Met.* V 1: vehementer iterum ac saepius beatos illos qui super gemmas et monilia calcant.

[28] XIV 206, above, p. 3.

[29] VI 13.5-8.

[30] See Paley and Stone *ad loc.*

this association of the *cestus* with the neck—and with Venus' bosom, XIV 206.2—makes it impossible to assign to the word *balteus* any meaning other than its commonest one of shoulder-belt.[31] Coupling this evidence with that supplied by Valerius Flaccus I believe we have a fairly complete picture of what the word *cestus* might have meant to a Roman of the first century A.D.

From Statius we get the suggestion that Venus' *cestus* was not an essential part of her wardrobe, but rather an object which she could dispense with in a fit of anger as easily as she could do without her doves:[32]

> solvisse iugalem
> ceston et Idalias procul ablegasse volucres
> fertur.

Here the *iugalem ceston* is apparently symbolical of the power of Venus to cement happy unions, and its removal symbolizes the cessation of her beneficent influence on living creatures. But we are not to suppose that she went around without a girdle during the period of her displeasure.

Apuleius and Servius both refer to the *cestus* as a *balteus*,[33] and

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[31] The passages cited by Smith, *Dict. s.v.*, and Rich, *Wörterbuch s.v.*, in support of the meaning of "a woman's girdle" are Martial XIV 207.2, Lucan, *Pharsalia* II 362 (see below, pp. 20 f.) and Ovid, *Met.* IX 188 f. In this last passage Hercules is describing his various labors:

> . . . vestra virtute relatus
> Thermodontiaco caelatus balteus auro.

In view of the uncertainty as to just what Hercules was supposed to have taken from Hippolyte (see Roscher, *Ausführ. Lex.* I, pp. 268–271), it may be worth mentioning that she is represented in art with a combination of girdle and cross-belt: see *e.g.* Baumeister I, fig. 63, p. 59. But even if we accept the interpretation of the word in Ovid's description as referring to a waist-girdle of the military type, ζωστήρ (not an ordinary woman's girdle: see Dar. et Sagl. I, p. 1176, n. 30), the everyday meaning of the word must have been "shoulder-belt" when Quintilian could describe an approved method of wearing the toga in such terms as the following (*Inst. Orat.* XI 3.140): qui (sinus) sub umero ad sinistrum oblique ducitur, velut balteus.

The word had a broader use by the time of the compilation of the glossaries: cf. *C.G.L.* II 323.4 Ζωνη balteum cingulum; V 334.56 Valteum lorum.

[32] *Theb.* V 62–64.

[33] Apul., *Met.* II 8: (Venus) licet omni Gratiarum choro stipata et toto Cupidinum populo comitata et balteo suo cincta . . . ; Serv., *Ad Aen.* V 69: nam "cestus cesti" numeri tantum singularis sine diphthongo balteum Veneris significat. Cf. *C.G.L.* V 550.21, Cestus quarte (sic) declinationis per diphthongon arma pugilum secunde (sic) declinationis balteum Veneris.

though, as has been suggested,[34] the word comes to have a broader meaning as we approach the later centuries, it is at least possible that their conception of the goddess' charm was much like that of Martial.

Lucian mentions the *cestus* in two passages in his "*Dialogues of the Gods.*" In the first, the precocious Hermes steals it from Aphrodite:[35] εἶτα μεταξὺ ἐπαινούμενος τῆς Ἀφροδίτης μὲν τὸν κεστὸν ἔκλεψε προστυξαμένης αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ. The author does not tell us what the *cestus* was, but we may infer from his account that it was worn superficially, so that it could be removed without the wearer's knowledge, presumably without disarranging her clothes, as would be the case in removing a girdle, or a breast-binder worn next to the skin. In the second passage Athena urges Paris to make Aphrodite take it off before she disrobes:[36] μὴ πρότερον ἀποδύσῃς αὐτήν, ὦ Πάρι, πρὶν ἂν τὸν κεστὸν ἀπόθηται— φαρμακὶς γάρ ἐστιν— μή σε καταγοητεύσῃ δι' αὐτοῦ. The goddess is to "lay aside" her *cestus before* she undresses, so as not to have it on during the actual trial, in which the goddesses were nude.[37]

Claudian also gives us a hint as to the rôle played by the *cestus* in Venus' wardrobe:[38]

> . . . Gremio natum Cytheria removit
> et crines festina ligat peplumque fluentem
> adlevat et blando spirantem numine ceston
> cingitur,[39] impulsos fluviis quo mitigat amnes,
> quo mare, quo ventos irataque fulmina solvit.

Here the *cestus* is put on after the *peplus*, to give the final touch of irresistible charm.

Alciphron (a younger contemporary of Lucian) and Aristaenetus, (ca. 500 A.D.), both use the verb ὑποζώννυμι of the act of putting it on.[40] This word is applied most often to the act

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[34] Above, n. 31, (end).
[35] *Dial. Deorum* 7.3.
[36] *Ibid.* 20.10.
[37] Cf. the evidence from Christodorus that the *cestus* could be represented on either a clothed or a nude figure, below, p. 16.
[38] *Epith. de Nupt. Hon.* 122–126.
[39] Cf. the use of this verb by Valerius Flaccus, above, p. 10.
[40] Alciphron 38.7: ἅπαντα ἐκείνη γε τὸν κεστὸν ὑπεζώσατο, ὁμοῦ ταῖς χάρισι τὴν Ἀφροδίτην δεξιωσαμένη. Aristaenet. I, p. 6 (Boissonade): τῶν χαρίτων πάντως ἡ Λαῒς τὸν κεστὸν ὑπεζώσατο.

of girdling on a waist-belt, but since Plutarch uses it with reference to the wearing of a sword by Romans of the first century B.C.,[41] we may conclude that it had a more general application, like that of *cingor*, since both literary and archaeological evidence points to the fact that Roman soldiers of that period commonly wore their swords suspended from shoulder-belts.[42]

Nonnus, writing in the fifth century A.D., follows the tradition of Homer in applying the word ἱμάς to the *cestus*:[43]

> ὣς φαμένη παρέπεισε· δολοφράδμων δ' Ἀφροδίτη
> πείθετο κερδοσύνῃσιν, ἀνειρύσσασα δὲ κόλπου
> Ἥρῃ δῶρον ἔδωκε θελήμονι κεστὸν Ἐρώτων.
> καί τινα μῦθον ἔλεξε χάριν θελκτῆρος ἱμάντος.

It is also important to observe that he uses the words ἀνειρύσσασα δὲ κόλπου, "drawing it up from her bosom" (or from the opening at the top of her dress), for the act of removing it. This expression is highly appropriate to the removal of a necklace or shoulder-belt by raising it over the head, but it is not the natural way to speak of taking off a girdle or breast-binder. Accordingly, when he calls the *cestus* a ζωστήρ in another passage, we must not think of it as a waist-girdle, which is the most usual meaning of that word, but rather as a shoulder-belt, the one object which could be referred to by that term and at the same time be removed by "drawing it up from the bosom." The passage in question is as follows:[44]

> ἀλλὰ περισφίγξασα δέμας φρενοθελγέϊ κεστῷ
> κερδαλέῳ ζωστῆρι δολοφράδμων Ἀφροδίτη . . .

A third reference by the same author has importance as showing that the *cestus* could be employed as a scourge or goad:[45]

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[41] *Pomp.* 10.2: οὐ παύεσθε, εἶπεν, ἡμῖν ὑπεζωσμένοις ξίφη νόμους ἀναγιγνώσκοντες.
[42] See Saglio in Dar. et Sagl. I, pp. 664 f.
[43] *Dionys.* XXXII 1–4.
[44] *Ibid.* IV 67 f.
[45] *Ibid.* IV 177 f.

εἶπε καὶ Ἁρμονίην φυγοδέμνιον ἤλασε κεστῷ
εἰς πλόον οἰστρήσασα πόθῳ πειθήμονα κούρην.

"She spoke, and drove the reluctant Harmonia to the ship, with her *cestus* goading the maiden with desire."[46] This same use of the *cestus* is referred to in an epigram written by Martial on the occasion of Stella's marriage to Ianthis:[47]

Perpetuam Stellae dum iungit Ianthida vati
    laeta Venus, dixit 'Plus dare non potui'.
haec coram domina; sed nequius illud in aure:
    'Tu ne quid pecces, exitiose, vide.
saepe ego lascivom Martem furibunda cecidi,
    legitimos esset cum vagus ante toros.'

. . . . . .

dixit et arcano percussit pectora loro.
    plaga iuvat: sed tu iam, dea, caede duos.

The "mystic strap," *arcanum lorum*, of v. 9, corresponds well with the *ἱμάς* of Nonnus, and it is only natural to suppose that the object which symbolized all the goddess' persuasive charm should have been used in this way. We have seen that in Valerius Flaccus' account of its use, its divine power was transmitted chiefly by contact—its power to implant love in the human breast.[48] It therefore seems at least possible that in other poetical references to Venus' overpowering her victims by striking or touching them, it is the *cestus* which she employs, although it may not be mentioned by name.[49]

Christodorus, who lived in the fifth and sixth centuries A.D., gives us valuable evidence as to the appearance of the *cestus* on certain statues in the collection of Zeuxippus. His words, therefore, reflect not only his own visualization of the object, but also

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[46] *κεστῷ* is little more than the metaphorical equivalent of *πόθῳ*, v. 2.
[47] Mart. VI 21, 1–6, 9–10.
[48] *Argon.* VI 669, above, p. 10. It should be observed that in Homer's account, as in most of the others that we have discussed, the *cestus* has the power of making its wearer lovable rather than of inspiring her to love someone else.
[49] Cf. Hor., *Od.* III 26.11 f., sublimi flagello Tange Chloen, and the parallels given in Hirschfeld's note.

the conception of the persons of an earlier age who adorned these works of art. He gives us descriptions of two statues of Aphrodite, one nude, the other clothed:[50]

> Ἄλλην δ' εὐπατέρειαν ἴδον χρυσῆν Ἀφροδίτην,
> γυμνὴν παμφανόωσαν· ἐπὶ στέρνων δὲ θεαίνης,
> αὐχένος ἐξ ὑπάτοιο χυθεὶς ἐλελίζετο κεστός.
> * * *
> καὶ τριτάτην θάμβησα πάλιν χρυσῆν Ἀφροδίτην,
> φάρεϊ κόλπον ἔχουσαν ἐπίσκιον. ἀμφὶ δὲ μάζοις
> κεστὸς ἕλιξ κεχάλαστο, χάρις δ' ἐνενήχετο κεστῷ.

The essential part of the first might be translated, "flowing down from high on her neck the *cestus* fell in a curve (or curves) upon the goddess' breast." In the second description the words ἕλιξ and κεχάλαστο give some trouble, but the word ἕλιξ might be rendered by "entwining," and the verb by "fell loosely" (around her breasts). This idea of looseness suits perfectly the conception of a shoulder-belt, or a cross-belt, such as we find represented in art.[51] The expression "around her breasts," here and elsewhere, refers to the way in which the object follows their curve, not to confinement by a girdle. It might be remarked that the phrase is even more appropriate to a cross-belt than to a shoulder-belt; and, for that matter, a cross-belt has two points of contact with the neck instead of one, so that Martial and others who associate the *cestus* with the neck may have been thinking of an object of this form.

We have a description of a picture of a dancer from the hand of Leontius (6th cent. A.D.):[52]

> Οὔνομ' ἔχεις λιβάνου, χαρίτων δέμας ἤθεα Πειθοῦς,
> παρθένε, καὶ Παφίης κεστὸν ὑπὲκ λαγόνων.

Here the *cestus* is thought of from an opposite point of view, that

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[50] *Anth. Pal.* II 99–101, 288–290. Bernoulli, *Aphrodite*, p. 345 n., found the first of these passages so inconsistent with his theory that the *cestus* was a breast-binder that he declared it spurious.

[51] See below, pp. 46–68.

[52] *Planudean Appendix* 288. 1, 2.

is as extending up from the sides, rather than down from the neck. The phrase ὑπὲκ λαγόνων is primarily appropriate to a cross-belt.

Passing over some references to the mythical history of the *cestus*,[53] we come to some important passages which show that certain of the ancients, especially in the later centuries, did not have any definite conception of the *cestus* at all, or used the word in a vague, general sense. Aristeides Isthmius (129–189 A.D.) uses the expression "whatever this *cestus* may be":[54] *ὡς εἶναι σαφῶς τῆς Ἀφροδίτης τὴν πόλιν, ἣν ἐμοὶ καὶ ἐπονομάζειν ἔπεσιν ὅστις ποτὲ οὗτος ὁ κεστός ἐστιν, ᾧ πάντας ἡ θεὸς ἀναδεῖται πρὸς ἑαυτήν.* Hesychius states that the word was used for χιτών:[55] *κεστὸν ἱμάντα. τὸν ποικίλον ἱμάντα. ἢ χιτῶνα ποικίλον. ἢ τὸν τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἱμάντα, καὶ ὁ διακεκεντημένος χιτών.* Without suggesting any alternative, Probus simply calls it 'tunica Veneris.'[56] And Photius gives a good example of the loose use of the word in the ninth century:[57] *κεστός· ὁ διακεκεντημένος καὶ διαπεποικιλμένος ἱμάς. ἢ ἔνδυμα Ἀφροδίτης. καταχρηστικῶς δὲ καὶ πάντα τῶν γυναικῶν φαντασιώδη 'ενδύματα.* In other words, the *cestus* became almost any ornamental article of attire, and lost its original significance. Certainly this implies that it was not a human charm, for it is hard to imagine that by arbitrarily applying the name *κεστός* to any fancy garment or piece of jewelry it could be endowed with the magical power to win men's hearts.

It remains for us to consider who wore the *cestus*. Aphrodite naturally comes first, since she is mentioned most often. An inscription the antiquity of which is subject to the gravest doubt, conveys the information that Venus Genetrix used it:[58] Divo

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[53] Plut. *Mor.*, 19 F.; Ausonius, *Periochae* XIIII (p. 386, Peiper). See Oder, *Rhein. Mus.*, xlv pp. 81–83, for a book on magic entitled Κεστοί written by Julius Africanus (3rd cent. A.D.).

[54] *εἰς Ποσειδῶνα* 25.

[55] *S.v. κεστόν.*

[56] Keil, *Gramm. Lat.* IV, p. 30, *l.* 12.

[57] *S.v.*, p. 158 *ll.* 19 f.

[58] Gruter, *Corpus Inscriptionum*, p. 225 No. 3 (= *C.I.L.* II 16*), from Evora, in Portugal. Hübner, *C.I.L.* II, pp. 14, 5*, considers it an outright forgery of the 16th century scholar Resende, and includes it among "titulos a se (*i.e.* Resendio) excogitatos" (*l.c.* p. 14); Gruter expresses doubt as to its antiquity. But even if the inscription as it stands was cut under the direction of Resende, is it not possible that he was restoring and amplifying an inscription which he had actually seen, in an earnest, though misguided, effort to further classical knowledge? On the other hand, would a clever forger be likely to introduce such a unique feature as this reference to the *cestus?*

Iulio Lib*eralitas* Iul*ia* Ebora ob illius in mun*icipium*, et mun*icipes* liberalitatem ex D.D.D. Quoius dedicatione cestum matronae donum tulerunt Veneri Genetrici. Incidentally we learn from this, if we may assume its genuineness, that the *cestus* was not a part of the sculptured statue, but was added superficially.[59] Its value may be assumed from the ceremony here referred to, and its nature may well be conjectured from Flaccus' reference to jewels.

Lucian tells us that Urania—that is Aphrodite Urania—and the Syrian Goddess worshipped at Hieropolis both wore the *cestus*:[60] *χειρὶ δὲ τῇ μὲν ἑτέρῃ σκῆπτρον ἔχει, τῇ δὲ ἑτέρῃ ἄτρακτον καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ ἀκτῖνάς τε φορέει καὶ πύργον καὶ κεστόν, τῷ μούνην τὴν Οὐρανίην κοσμέουσι. ἔκτοσθεν δέ οἱ χρυσός τε ἄλλος περικέεται καὶ λίθοι κάρτα πολυτελέες, τῶν οἱ μὲν λευκοί, οἱ δὲ ὑδατώδεες, πολλοὶ δὲ οἰνώδεες πολλοὶ δὲ πυρώδεες.*.[61] The richness of the *cestus* may be suggested by the fact that it was associated with a profusion of precious stones. More significant, however, for our purpose is the definite statement that the object we are dealing with was eastern, worn by a Syrian divinity who combined the characteristics of Hera, Artemis and Aphrodite,[62] and by Aphrodite in the most oriental phase of her worship.[63]

But the Greek Aphrodite and Atargatis had no monopoly of the *cestus*, as the words of Lucian would seem to imply.[64] We have seen that in Martial Cupid wears the object, as well as his mother, and Valerius Flaccus makes Venus borrow it from her children.[65] The Graces also shared the right of adorning them-

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[59] For the jewelry that might be dedicated along with a statue see below, p. 22.

[60] *Dea Syria* 32.

[61] His language is somewhat ambiguous, but he can hardly mean that the *cestus* was worn on the head. Strong, in Garstang and Strong, *Dea Syria*, gives the accepted translation of "girdle":. " . . on her head she bears rays and a tower and she has a girdle wherewith they adorn none but Aphrodite of the sky."

[62] She is identified with Atargatis. See Garstang and Strong, *The Syrian Goddess*, pp. 1–28 (Garstang), and fig. 7, p. 70; Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, pp. 55, n. 4, 79 f., 168 f.

[63] See Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States* II, pp. 629–631, 677–684.

[64] Perhaps he makes a distinction between the common *cestus*, such as that worn by mortals, and the old traditional *cestus* of Aphrodite.

[65] Above, p. 10. Cf. pp. 11, 14.

selves with this sacred ornament.[66] The *cestus* of the Graces, as well as that of Aphrodite and the Erotes, was thought of as possessing the supernatural charm of its wearers, and as the symbol of their love-inspiring power it was transferred metaphorically to human beings.

It has already been observed that a *cestus* was an appropriate gift for a boy, a *puer delicatus*.[67] This association must have been fairly common among the Romans, since we find *Cestos* or *Cestus* used as a proper name. A certain slave of Instantius Rufus who bore that name is addressed by Martial as *Ceste, decus mensae*;[68] and if we may assume that the Cestus described in another poem of the same book is identical with this one, he was very certainly a *puer delicatus*.[69] At any rate that was the character of the Cestus mentioned in Book I, whether the name is real or fictitious.[70] The name occurs quite frequently in inscriptions,[71] and in one case at least, the significance attached to it is suggested by its association with other terms of endearment:[72] Sempronius Diocles et Aur. Stratonicus Aur. Crysion Aur. Filumene Aur. Cestus liberti. "Goldy" and "Lovey" bear witness to the sentimental scheme of nomenclature applied in this particular household, and suggest a comparison with the 'Cesti' of Martial.

The human associations of the *cestus* can be traced still further. Since Venus and the Graces wore it as well as Cupid and slave boys, we should naturally infer that earthly women could be similarly adorned. And Festus tells us definitely that they were:[73] Caestus[74] vocantur et hi quibus pugiles dimicant, et genus quoddam ornatus mulierum. This confirms our opinion that the *cestus* was not exclusively a sacred attribute of the goddess of love, or even a "Zaubermittel." Rather it was an every-

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[66] See above, n. 40.
[67] Above, p. 3.
[68] Mart. VIII 50 (51). 19.
[69] *Ibid.* 46.
[70] I 92.
[71] *C.I.L.* II. 6172; VI. 2485.8, 4482, 6617, 14711, 23785, 24149, 34814, 34815; IX. 4680, 4997; X. 867; XII. 2981; XV. 4012.
[72] *Ibid.* VI. 2485. 6–8.
[73] p. 45 (M).
[74] For the spelling "*caestus*" cf. above, n. 33.

day article of adornment, which by Martial's time probably possessed little more sanctity than the myrtle or ivy leaves worn by revellers. This fact will cause us some trouble when we come to the archaeological side of our subject, since an ornament—especially a woman's ornament—is subject to the changes of fashion and the whims of the individual. We must at least expect to find the *cestus* composed of various materials, if not varying in form.

Another possibility we must face is, that when the *cestus* lost its distinctive, quasi-religious significance, it also changed its name. When women and youths wore the striking and elaborate shoulder-belt or cross-belt which apparently went by the name of *cestus*, what reason have we to suppose that they would connect it in thought with the Homeric *κεστὸς ἱμάς*? The epigrams which Martial writes to accompany a gift of this sort are filled with poetical fancies and mythical allusion, but the boy who wore it, and the shop-keeper who sold it, may have had a much less romantic turn of mind.

The use of the word *balteus* in connection with the *cestus* has already been noted.[75] I think that there is a possibility that we should consider another reference to a *balteus* as being concerned with the object which we are discussing:[76]

> Non timidum nuptae leviter tectura pudorem
> lutea demissos velarunt flammea voltus,
> balteus aut fluxos gemmis astrinxit amictus,
> colla monile decens, umerisque haerentia primis
> suppara nudatos cingunt angusta lacertos.

Commentators have explained that *balteus* in v. 362 refers to the *zona matronalis*, which is suggested by the mention of the *flammeum* in the preceding line. However, this use of the word is not well attested before the Christian period,[77] and the word *monile* in v. 363 is in harmony with the frequent association of a necklace with a shoulder-belt or cross-belt in works of art. Furthermore, the word *gemmis* tallies exactly with Valerius

[75] Above, pp. 11–13.
[76] Lucan, *Pharsalia* II 360–364.
[77] See above, p. 12, n. 31 (end).

Flaccus' description of the *cestus*. The verb *astrinxit* describes well the effect produced by a close-fitting shoulder-belt or cross-belt,[78] though it could be used just as appropriately of a girdle.

The word *catenae* could also refer to cross-belts or shoulder-belts, if we may judge from an expression which Pliny uses in describing the various forms of jewelry worn by the women of his day:[79] habeant (aurum) feminae in armillis digitisque totis, collo, auribus, spiris; discurrant catenae circa latera. This seems to apply perfectly to the appearance of a cross-belt, which divides into two strands between the breasts, and then passes around the lower part of the trunk. Isidore, however, defines the diminutive *catellae* as *catenulae colli*,[80] which suggests primarily necklaces. On the other hand, we have seen that the *cestus*, which was not a necklace, is frequently associated with the neck,[81] so that there is a possibility that in some of the less specific references to *catenae* or *catellae*[82] an ornament like that described by Pliny is to be understood. One such reference has particularly attracted my attention:[83]

> Nota refert meretricis acumina, saepe catellam,
> saepe periscelidem raptam sibi flentes . . .

It is at least within the realm of possibility that the typical *meretrix* here mentioned is trying to elicit from her lover a gift almost identical with the *cestus* which Martial describes as an approrpiate gift for a *puer delicatus*.

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[78] See, for example, Reinach, *Rép. des Stat.* II, part 1, p. 129, No. 2 (below, p. 50); IV, p. 214, No. 8 (below, p. 62); De Ridder, *Bronzes Ant. du Louvre* I, pl. 28, No. 326, p. 521 (below, p. 61); Martha, *L'Art Étrusque*, fig. 155, p. 199 (below, p. 60).

[79] *N.H.* XXXIII 40. See also Saglio, Dar.et Sagl. I, p. 970, for this interpretation of the word *catena*.

[80] *Etym.* XIX 31.15: Catellae sunt catenulae colli invicem se comprehendentes in modum catenae; unde et appellatae.

[81] See above, pp. 10, 11, 16.

[82] Cf. Festus, p. 273 (M): redimiculum vocant mulieres catellam, qua maxime utuntur ornatus causa; Paulus, *Sent.* III 6.84: Ornamentis legatis ea cedunt, per quae ornatior mulier efficitur, veluti anuli catenae reticuli et cetera, quibus collo vel capite vel manibus mulieres ornantur; Isidore, *l.c.* XIX 31.11: Torques autem et bullae a viris geruntur; feminis vero monilia et catellae; Pseudo-Acron on Hor., *Epist.* I 17.55: (Catellam) alii ornamentus capitis, alii colli; *C.I.L.* II. 1582: . . . *signum* aureum coronam et catenam *l*ib. ex v. *f*.

[83] Hor., *Epist.* I 17.55 f.

Another term which deserves our consideration is *ornamenta mamillarum*,[84] De alio idem respondit, cum quaedam ornamenta mamillarum ex cylindris trigintaquatuor, et tympanis margaritis trigintaquatuor legasset. If this ornament is some sort of *catena* or *cestus* we have a more specific description of the jewelry of which such an object was composed.[85] It is highly possible that a *fascia*, mentioned elsewhere in an inscription, composed of sixty-three such *cylindri* and a hundred *margaritae*, was worn as a shoulder-belt or cross-belt.[86]

Whether or not these inscriptions, and the decision of Paulus, apply to the object which Martial called a *cestus*, they at least offer a suggestion as to the possible nature of the *cestus* as it appeared on works of art:[87] it was an ornament of jewelry, which could easily be placed on a bronze or marble statue after its dedication. The evidence fits beautifully with Flaccus' account of the mythical *cestus;* but at the same time it suggests a drawback which we must expect to encounter in the archaeological side of our work: since it was apparently customary to put real jewelry on full-sized statues, no such figure would normally exhibit a *cestus* as part of the sculptured ornament.[88] We can never hope to see what Christodorus saw, for even though the marble or bronze of an ancient statue may have suffered no harm at the hands of "barbarians," precious stones and gold would never escape. We shall have to depend, for the most part, on the evidence of small statuettes, vase- and wall-paintings, and engravings.

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[84] Paulus, *Dig.* XXXIV. II, 32.9. See Hübner, *Hermes* i, pp. 345–360, especially p. 356.

[85] These *cylindri* were apparently strung together on a gold cord of some sort: *C.I.L.* XI. 364 . . . et imagine ex auri p. II et filia II ex cylindris XXXIII auro clus. t. p. i. (testamento poni iussit). See Hübner, *l.c.*, pp. 350 f., 356–360. Cf. Valerius Flaccus' description of the *cestus*, in which he speaks of gems and gold.

[86] *C.I.L.* II. 2060: Postumia M. f. Aciliana Baxo poni statuam sibi testamento iussit ex H S VIII n. item ornamenta septentrionem cylind. XXXXII marg. VII item lineam cylindrorum XXII item fasc. cylindr. LXIII marg. C item lineam arg. marg. XII. . . Cf. Hübner, *l.c.*, p. 356: "Die Kette von 22 Cylindern wird um den Hals, die Binde von 63 Cylindern und 100 Perlen um die Brust, vielleicht kreuzweis, gelegt worden sein."

[87] Cf. Mart. VI 13, above, p. 11 f.; Christodorus, *Anth. Pal.* II 99–101, 288–290, above, p. 16; and (possibly) Gruter's inscription, above, pp. 17 f.

[88] The *cestus* (?) of the Altoviti Venus is an exception. See below, pp. 46 f.

We may now sum up briefly the literary evidence as to the *cestus*, with a view to determining what we should look for when we come to our search for the object in works of art. Unfortunately Homer does not tell us just what the κεστὸς ἱμάς was. It was probably made of leather, "pierced," "stitched" or "studded" (?) (κεστός), and was "finely wrought," "beautiful" or "many-colored" (ποικίλος). It was removed "from the breasts"—in what way we cannot determine.[89] Furthermore, there is such a tremendous gap in our evidence that it may well be that the *cestus* of the Graeco-Roman period was not precisely the same object, so that we are left without any further clue as to the nature of the Homeric talisman. We shall be forced to put our dependence on the uncertain evidence of archaeological remains in order to arrive at a plausible conjecture as to what the epic poet had in mind.

The difficult passage from Varro's treatise on agriculture serves chiefly to establish the fact that something, at any rate, that was called a *cestus* was a definite object, familiar to the Italians who preceded his generation. And, indeed, there is such a striking agreement in the more explicit descriptions of the *cestus*, that I am strongly inclined to feel that a fairly definite and uniform conception of its nature persisted from the second century B.C. to the sixth century A.D.

Martial, in the first century A.D., and Christodorus, at the end of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth, both speak of the *cestus* in terms which leave little room for doubt that it was worn as a shoulder-belt or cross-belt. And this conception of the object is in perfect harmony with all the indefinite references to the association of the *cestus* with the neck[90] or breasts.[91]

Other passages in which more general terms are applied to the *cestus*, or in which vague expressions are used of the act of putting it on, have been given far more weight than they deserve. Apuleius and Servius, for instance, speak of the *cestus* as a *balteus*, which may mean either shoulder-belt or waist-belt.[92]

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[89] See above, pp. 5 f.
[90] Above, pp. 10, 11, 16.
[91] Above, pp. 3, 5, 9, 14.
[92] In the later period. See above, n. 31. But cf. Nonnus' use of the general term ζωστήρ, above, p. 14.

Aside from the inherent possibility that these writers used the word in the same sense as that in which Martial employed it, the fact that other authors both before and after their time give evidence that it was not a waist-belt almost forces us to the conclusion that they too thought of the *cestus* as a shoulder-belt. The same general consideration applies to the use of the verb *ὑποζώννυμι* on the part of Alciphron and Aristaenetus:[93] the verb could readily be applied to the act of putting on a girdle, but it might also be applied to the shoulder-belt, to which others make more specific reference.

Various other considerations point to the conclusion that the *cestus* was an ornament, rather than a girdle serving the practical purpose of confining a loose outer garment. Christodorus tells us definitely that he saw the *cestus* on a nude figure of Aphrodite as well as on one which was clothed.[94] Still more important is the evidence that it was worn by persons of both sexes, by a *puer delicatus* or Cupid as well as by Venus and human women.[95] Furthermore, we learned from Lucian that the *cestus* could be stolen from the goddess while she had it on.[96]

With reference to the material of which the *cestus* was composed, we again find substantial agreement in the writers of different centuries. Martial calls it a *lorum*, and Nonnus speaks of it as a *ἱμάς*.[97] Both these words convey the general idea of "strap," or possibly of "band" (composed of a material other than leather). Valerius Flaccus, on the other hand, refers to an object which is almost certainly the *cestus*[98] with the expressions *monilia*, and *gemmis et auro:* he thinks of it as composed of jewels strung together on some sort of gold chain. This definite account, coupled with Festus' definition of the *cestus* as a "variety of women's ornament," would lead us to suppose that the *lorum* or *ἱμάς* was in some way made ornamental. At any rate, if it could be either a strap or a string of beads, we may expect to find a considerable variety in the materials of which it is composed.

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93 Above, pp. 13 f., n. 40.
94 Above, p. 16.
95 Above, pp. 3, 11, 14.
96 Above, p. 13.
97 Above, p. 14.
98 Above, p. 10 p.

In respect to the special religious or magical significance which was attached to the *cestus*, it may be said that ancient poets thought of it as a peculiarly important attribute of Aphrodite, her children, the Erotes, and her attendant Graces. It symbolizes all the goddess' power to make herself irresistibly charming, and to implant the tender emotion in whom she will—as her son does with his arrows. Poets eagerly grasped the opportunity thus offered them of referring to a metaphorical transfer of the *cestus* to a sweetheart.

The *cestus* actually worn by mortals has quite a different story. Festus tells us simply that it was a *genus quoddam ornatus mulierum;* Martial, in describing one which was to be given as a gift to a boy, indulges in a sentimental allusion to the first account of the *cestus*' use. But his words offer no ground for assuming that the boy who was to wear the object had any feeling that it was endowed with an occult power to increase the number of his admirers. Indeed, the evidence that a *catena* was a shoulder- or cross-belt, and that the *cestus* was similar in form and use, inclines me to doubt whether the *cestus* described by Martial even kept its poetical name when worn by persons unversed in epic lore, or when sold by an unromantic jeweler. To deduce from the evidence as to the powers of the *cestus* of Aphrodite that the *cestus* of human beings was a "Zaubermittel" or a "mimetic charm" is no more justified than an assumption that the application of a real torch to the flesh of an unresponsive sweetheart would have been expected to produce the same effect as the fiery brand of Cupid.

II

We must digress for a few moments to consider some of the theories which have been advanced concerning the *cestus*. The most popular has been that it was a band wound tightly around the breasts.[1] The literary basis for this lies in the frequent references to removing the *cestus* from the breasts; its confirmation is sought in representations of nude female figures wearing a breast-binder.[2]

This conception of the *cestus* appears highly unreasonable in view of Martial's references to its having been worn by Cupid and human boys. Some other considerations will at once suggest themselves. The Homeric Aphrodite was clothed, so that any breast-binder she wore was in the nature of an undergarment. To remove it would require complete disrobing, which is certainly not implied in the *locus classicus* of the Iliad; and it is quite improbable that such an important and ornamental attribute as the *κεστὸς ἱμὰς ποικίλος* was concealed beneath clothes. Furthermore, Lucian is speaking of statuary when he says that the Dea Syria (Atargatis) and Urania wore the *cestus*. Both goddesses are always represented fully clothed, so that the question as to whether they wore brassieres might be termed academic. Valerius Flaccus has given us the information that the *cestus* was a string of beads—which is not the same thing as the broad band worn by the so-called "kestophoroi." The baby Hermes was a master thief, but it is more likely that he stole

[1] So Welcker, in K. O. Müller's *Hand. der Arch.*, section 377.5, p. 582; Melly, *Annal. dell' Inst.* xiv (1842), pp. 50–53; Bernoulli, *Aphrodite*, pp. 345–348; Helbig, *Arch. Zeit.* 1866, pp. 261–264; Kastriotes, *Ephem. Arch* 1895, pp. 187–190; Purser, Smith, *Dict.* I, pp. 407 f.; Gruppe, *Griech. Myth.* II, p. 858; Walters, *Cat. of Bronzes in the Brit. Mus.*, No. 1110; Bothe, note on *Il.* XIV 214; Friedländer, on Mart. VI 13.5, 6.

[2] See above, n. 1, and Reinach, *Rép. d. Stat.* I, p. 424, pl. 736; II, p. 345, Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5; III, p. 107, No. 5, p. 256, Nos. 2, 4; IV, p. 208, No. 6, p. 210, No. 8; Müller-Wies., XXVI, No. 282 (= Bernoulli, *l.c.*, p. 345, No. 1); *Arch. Zeit.* 1864, p. 147, Taf. 183.3. (= Bernoulli, *l.c.*, No. 3); Baumeister I, p. 366, fig. 393 (= Bernoulli, *l.c.*, No. 4); Babelon, *Bronzes Ant. de la Bibliothèque Nat.*, No. 246, p. 106 (= Bernoulli, *l.c.*, No. 6); De Ridder, *Bronzes Ant. du Louvre* I, pl. 35, No. 443, p. 67; *Collection de Clercq* VI, No. 197, pp. 100 f., pl. IV (a terracotta). See also Pottier-Reinach, *La Nécropole de Myrina* I, p. 297, n. 5.

an ornamental shoulder-belt from Aphrodite than that he removed a breast-band wound two or three times around her body.[3] We are also expected to imagine that women—and boys—habitually wore these bands around their necks.[4]

To approach the subject from another angle, the breast-binders in Martial's Fourteenth Book are not to be considered as possible attributes of Venus, or even as purely ornamental additions to a woman's wardrobe, but rather as garments of a practical character worn by women who could be made the butt of coarse jokes:[5]

Mamillare
Taurino poteras pectus constringere tergo:
nam pellis mammas non capit ista tuas.
Fascia pectoralis
Fascia crescentes dominae compesce papillas,
ut sit quod capiat nostra tegatque manus.

The general tone of both of these poems, as well as the use of the word *dominae* in the second one, indicates that the objects were intended for lovers who were not strictly "Platonic." This inference is supported by the representation of bosom-bands in realistic brothel scenes,[6] on a tight-rope walker,[7] on dancers,[8] and flute-players.[9] Accordingly, when Venus is represented wearing a band around her breasts, it is not to be understood as her peculiarly sacred symbol or charm; rather she wears it in

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[3] Above, p. 13. For the manner in which the breast-binder was worn see the representations referred to in n. 2, p. 26.
[4] Above, pp. 10, 11, 16.
[5] XIV.66, 134.
[6] Roux, *Pompeii* VIII, pl. 23 (the woman is a pathic). For an ordinary "Liebescene" cf. Helbig, *Wandg.*, 1452 (the garment is described as green; Rich, *Wörterb., s.v. Fascia*, speaks of a red one). Cf. also Reinach, *Rép. d. Rel.* I, p. 26, No. 3 (a nymph and a Satyr; the nymph is wearing a *fascia*); *Gaz. Arch.* 1880, pp. 139–141 (a figure of Methe(?)).
[7] Roux, *l.c.* pl. 20.
[8] Schreiber, *Atlas*, pl. LXXVII, No. 7; Reinach, *Rép. d. Stat.* II, p. 398, No. 7. Cf. the Maenads in Reinach, *Rép. d. Rel.* I, p. 264.2 (on the right); III, p. 359.
[9] Bernoulli, *l.c.*, p. 347; Reinach, *ibid.* I, p. 264.2 (on the left).

conformity with the practice of women whose profession called for the discarding of ordinary raiment.[10]

As a matter of fact, there is some reason to doubt the identification of the goddess in the various representations in question. The "bediademt Haare" on which Bernoulli lays stress[11] is not a distinguishing characteristic of the group of monuments with which we are concerned; and there is nothing else about the figures to differentiate them from human women.[12] The title "Aphrodite als Hetäre" has been suggested for one of them,[13] and it is hard to see how any more dignified title can be applied to any of them.

Bernoulli does list one representation of Aphrodite with the "cestus" in which the identification of the goddess is certain, and her dignity unquestionable.[14] It is a bas-relief showing Venus on a shell as she rises from the sea, surrounded by other gods and Cupids. She wears a narrow girdle, not around her breasts, but just below them. The scene is obviously one in which we should expect to find a significant attribute instead of a mere garment adopted from human beings, and I think it highly probable that the artist intended to represent the *cestus*.[15] However, the workmanship is late, belonging to the second or

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[10] *Fasciae pectorales* were of course also worn by respectable women under their ordinary clothes, Mart. XI 104.7, fascia te tunicaeque obscuraque pallia celant.

[11] *L.c.*, pp. 345 f.

[12] Wiesseler, Müller-Wies. I, p. 150, questions the identification of the goddess in Bernoulli's No. 1 (*ibid.*); Clarac IV, p. 120, speaks of Bernoulli's No. 3 as "une femme" (Baumeister I, p. 366, calls it "Venus mit dem Busengürtel," but does not suggest that the "Busengürtel" is a *cestus*). See also Pottier-Reinach, *Myrina* I, p. 297, n. 3. I think exception can also be taken to the interpretation of a certain cameo, Müller-Wies. II, pl. 26, No. 288, described I, p. 155 (= Bernoulli, *l.c.*, p. 347), supposed to represent Aphrodite and two of the Graces. The "goddess," half clad, is being waited upon by the two "Graces," one of whom is applying color to the "goddess' " eyebrows or cheeks with her extended index finger. I can see no warrant whatever for calling this anything but a "toilet scene."

[13] Welcker, *l.c.*

[14] Clarac II, pl. 224, No. 2, described II, p. 352 (= Bernoulli, p. 347).

[15] Cf. Clarac II, pls. 224, No. 83, 206, No. 194. These late reliefs show groups of Nereids and Tritons, in each of which one of the Nereids is represented with a band extending around the body in such a way as to surround the breasts (which are turned away from the spectator). The band in these two cases differs radically from that of the "kestophoroi" bronzes in that it is not wide enough to serve the same practical purpose.

[16] So Clarac II, p. 352.

third century A.D., so that the sculptor may have lived at a time when the conception of the *cestus* was becoming hazy.

Another theory which has gained some adherents explains the *cestus* as an outer girdle worn immediately below the breasts,[17] or around the hips.[18] The latter supposition is ruled out by the fact that reference is frequently made to removing the *cestus* from the bosom; and to either sort of girdle the same objections may be offered as those we considered before: it would be out of place in the wardrobe of Cupid or a human boy; it could not be removed with as little inconvenience as Venus' *cestus* apparently was;[19] it would not be worn by both clothed and nude figures, as Christodorus tells us the *cestus* was.[20]

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[17] Heyne, *Samml. Antiqu. Aufsätz.* I, pp. 148 f.; Rich, *l.c.*, *s.v. Cestus*, p. 137, For other objections to this theory, raised by Helbig and Ameis, see above. p. 6, n. 7. See also above, p. 28, n. 12.

[18] Wincklemann, *Mon. Ined.* I, pp. 37–39; *Hist. de l'Art* I, pp. 512–514 (with the notes of "E.M." and "C.F.").

[19] See above, pp. 5, 13.

[20] See above, p. 16. A girdle is out of place on a nude figure, a "brassiere" is not visible on a clothed one.

III

Our search for representations of the *cestus* must start with an examination of the figures of Aphrodite found in Cyprus, since the goddess is the "Cyprian" from Homer on.[1] Herodotus and Pausanias both attribute the origin of the goddess' worship to the Assyrians,[2] and it was formerly very generally believed that Astarte-Aphrodite, as she was called, was an importation from the East. However, in spite of striking similarities between the figures of a nude goddess found at early Mesopotamian sites and those found in Cyprus,[3] it is now the accepted belief that the Cyprian goddess was an independent development of Aegean civilization.[4] Hence we must turn to the island in search of an attribute which will correspond with Homer's description of the *κεστὸς ἱμάς*.

The oldest Cypriote representations of Aphrodite are terracottas of a crude "plaquette" type, shaped like a square-cornered, long-necked flask.[5] Unlike the later figures, these are clothed; the clothes, ornaments, and even the features being indicated by incised lines. Each of the "idols" referred to in the preceding note (5) has a collar-like necklace, while the one assigned to the copper age has a longer one extending across the breasts. The figure from Phoenikiais has an earring in the left ear. Both

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[1] *Il.* V 330, 422, 458, 760, 883. Cf. *Od.* VIII 362 f.

ἡ δ' ἄρα Κύπρον ἵκανε φιλομμειδὴς Ἀφροδίτη,
ἐς Πάφον ἔνθα δέ οἱ τέμενος βωμός τε θυήεις.

[2] Herod. I 131 (concerning the Persians): *τούτοισι μὲν δὴ θύουσι μούνουσι ἀρχῆθεν, ἐπιμεμαθήκασι δὲ καὶ τῇ Οὐρανίῃ θύειν, παρά τε Ἀσσυρίων μαθόντες καὶ Ἀραβίων. καλέουσι δὲ Ἀσσύριοι τὴν Ἀφροδίτην Μύλιττα, Ἀράβιοι δὲ Ἀλιλάτ, Πέρσαι δὲ Μίτραν.* Paus. I 14.7 *πρώτοις δὲ ἀνθρώπων Ἀσσυρίοις κατέστη σέβεσθαι τὴν Οὐρανίαν, μετὰ δὲ Ἀσσυρίους Κυπρίων Παφίοις καὶ Φοινίκων τοῖς Ἀσκάλωνα ἔχουσιν ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ. παρὰ δὲ Φοινίκων Κυθήριοι μαθόντες σέβουσιν.*

[3] *E.g.* at Nippur, H.v. Fritze, *Jahr, d. Kais. deut. Arch. Inst.* 1897, pp 199–203, figs. 1–3. Cf. Perrot et Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art* II, p. 505, figs. 228, 229; Heuzey, *Les Antiques Figurines de Terra Cuite dans le Musée du Louvre*, pl. 2, No. 4.

[4] Farnell, *Greece and Babylon*, pp. 97, 261; Ohnefalsch-Richter and yres, *Cyprus Museum Catalogue*, p. 19; Dussand, *Civilisations Préhelléniques dans le Bassin de la Mer Egée*, pp. 370 f.; Contenau, *La Déesse Nue Babylonienne*, pp. 19–23.

[5] Dussand, *l.c.*, fig. 271, p. 366 (a figure belonging to the copper age, 3000–2200 B.C.); Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros, Homer and the Bible*, fig. 29, p. 33 (bronze age, from Phoenikiais).

types of ornament we shall see duplicated in all periods of the island's art, and almost always represented on later figures of the goddess.

However, the common "Aphrodite" types in early Aegean art are nude. Frequently the goddess' hands are placed on her breasts or just below them,[6] and the *pubes* is exaggerated. The distinctive type developed in Cyprus represents the goddess as nude, with a grotesque, beak-like nose and huge ears, either with earrings or with holes for them. The *pubes* is indicated by a patch of cross markings, and the navel is frequently represented by a disc.[7] All but two of the figures from Cyprus[8] and the lead figure from Troy[9] show incised or painted lines around the neck to indicate necklaces; and one of them has a longer necklace extending down to the breasts.[10]

These figures are supposed to belong to the bronze age and to be free from oriental influences.[11] In the so-called Graeco-Phoenician period which follows (*ca.* 800–400 B.C.)[12] we shall find the same breast-holding type of nude female figure, with the same attributes or ornaments, that is, earrings and necklaces. Indeed, the custom of representing the hands in this peculiar position was not only perpetuated by the Phoenicians but also spread with the diffusion of their civilization.[13] Further-

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[6] *E.g.* Wolters, *Ath. Mitth.* xvi, pp. 48 f. (stone figures from Amorgos, of the Pre-Mycenaenean period); *ibid.*, p. 54 (from Euboea); Reinach, *Rev. Arch.* 1895, p. 377, fig. 1 (a lead figure from Troy II, 2400–1900 B.C.); Dussand, *l.c.*, fig. 270, p. 365 ("moule en stéatite" from Asia Minor); Schliemann, *Mycenae*, Nos. 267, 268, p. 181 (small gold figures); Ohnefalsch-Richter, *l.c.*, fig. 31, p. 34 (a terracotta from Hagia Paraskevi); *Excav. in Cyprus*, fig. 164, No. 1, p. 112 (from Amathus); Walters, *Catalogue of the Terracottas in the British Museum*, A 16, 17, p. 3 (from Enkomi), A 37, 38, 39, p. 5 (from Maroni).

[7] Ohnefalsch-Richter, *l.c.*, fig. 32, p. 34, pl. XXXVII, No. 6 (from Hagia Paraskevi); *Excav. in Cyprus*, fig. 65, Nos. 1086, 1087, p. 37, fig. 70, No. 1284, p. 42 (all from Enkomi); Perrot et Chipiez, *l.c.* III, figs. 374, 375, p. 552 (both from Alambra); Walters, *l.c.*, A 15, p. 3 (from Enkomi), A 36, p. 5 (from Maroni), A 52, p. 7 (from near Larnaka), A 2, p. 1 (from Curium; the woman is holding a pigeon over her breast). Figures of a nude woman holding a child (the "kourotrophos" type) show the same characteristics, *e.g.* Walters, *l.c.*, A 10, p. 2, A 11–14, p. 3.

[8] Ohnefalsch-Richter, *l.c.*, pl. XXXVII, No. 6; Walters, *l.c.*, A 15.

[9] *Rev. Arch.* 1895, p. 377, fig. 1.

[10] *Excav. in Cyprus*, No. 1086.

[11] See above, p. 30, n. 5.

[12] See Walters, *l.c.*, p. XXXV.

[13] Cf. Perrot et Chipiez, *l.c.* III, fig. 291, p. 419 (a nude female figure with distinctive headdress, from Sardinia).

more, the beak-nosed type, with large earrings, found its way to Palestine.[14] Here the earrings, whose exaggerated size probably reflects something of their importance in Cypriote worship, possess a special interest because of a significant passage in *Genesis:*[15] "Put away the strange gods that are among you, and purify yourselves, and change your garments. . . . And they gave unto Jacob all the strange gods which were in their hands, and the rings which were in their ears; and Jacob hid them under the oak which was by Schechem." Apparently earrings were intimately associated with the worship of "strange gods";[16] and the suggestion has been made that Astarte was included in that category.[17] It may be impossible to determine whether the Hebrews derived these ornaments from Cyprus or vice versa,[18] but it is evident that they were essential attributes of the goddess in both localities.

For the purpose of our discussion there are two features of these figures of "Astarte-Aphrodite" from the bronze age which deserve special notice. The first is that the goddess was nude. Accordingly, though the Homeric Aphrodite was clothed,[19] we should expect her traditional attributes to be appropriate to a nude figure. We should therefore be on our guard against any theory which explains the *cestus* as an essential part of a woman's conventional attire, such as a girdle. Secondly, the goddess is richly adorned with necklaces and earrings. Both forms of ornament were apparently indigenous and of great antiquity. We may assume that they were first worn by women, who naturally attributed to the goddess such ornaments as accorded with their taste in such matters. It is possible, but not probable, that this jewelry had special significance, because of its supposed

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[14] Contenau, *l.c.*, figs. 110, 111, p. 97 (from Tell Tanneck, "du XIIe au IXe siècle environ"); Dussand, *l.c.*, fig. 216, p. 299 (from the same place).

[15] *Genesis* XXXV, 2, 4.

[16] Cf. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, p. 453, "Jewels, too, such as women wore in the sanctuary, had a sacred character; the Syriac word for an earring is *c'dāshā*, 'the holy thing', and generally speaking, jewels serve as amulets."

[17] Kennedy, *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* III, p. 440.

[18] As to the Aegean origin of the cult of Astarte-Aphrodite, see above, p. 30, n. 4; but see also below, p. 75.

[19] Cf. *Il.* V 338.

magical power, before it was attributed to the goddess. And it is impossible to conjecture what degree of sacredness attached to the objects after they assumed a place in the deity's scanty wardrobe.

As we turn, in our search, to later representations of Aphrodite, we find ourselves confronted with the greatest profusion of attributes or ornaments: earrings, ear-coverings, head-bands bracelets, nose-rings, necklaces long and short, with pendants and without. At once our attention is attracted to the longer necklaces with pendants which hang down between the breasts. Their location, at least, corresponds perfectly with Homer's expressions ἀπὸ στήθεσφιν ἐλύσατο and ἐγκάτθεο κόλπῳ, and they could have been removed in the manner he describes. Ohnefalsch-Richter saw the possibility of referring these necklace-pendants to the familiar description of the *Iliad*:[20]

'There is a possibility that the magic girdle of Aphrodite only represents the shortened form of the Kyprian breast ornament, *i. e.* the chain with the breast plate, but without the insignia attached,[21] like the breast chains and round discs . . . (Pl. L 4, 5), or like the amulets shaped like a triangle (Pl. XXXIII 1, 2, 5, 6, 8)[22] or like a cylinder (Pl. XXXIII 16 and CLXIII 26)."

He goes on, in the same passage, to point out the interesting fact that a pendant of triangular shape is still worn by the girls of Cyprus as a love-charm. Myres calls special attention to hollow, tubular pendants:[23] "These peculiar objects had some ritual meaning, for they are commonly represented in the strings of charms worn by votaries. . . . and temple boys.[24] They may have contained relics or written charms like the Jewish phylacteries." But in spite of the apparent significance of

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[20] *L.c.* I, p. 307.

[21] See below, p. 35.

[22] Cf. Myres, *Cesnola Collection of Antiquities from Cyprus*, p. 208, No. 1296, and see below, p. 42, n. 10.

[23] *L.c.*, p. 387.

[24] See below, pp. 41 f.

[25] *L.c.*, pp. 350 f., fig. p. 351. It is assigned to the "period of oriental influences about 750 to 550 B.C." Walters, *l.c.*, A 62, p. 8, is a hand-modelled, primitive type classified under the heading "Artemis or a Priestess," which must date from the very beginning of this period. In its description we read, ". . . on the breast is a conical projection, probably a *bulla*."

these other forms, pendants in the shape of a flat disc deserve our attention first because of their greater antiquity.

An early example of this type is seen in Myres' no. 2140,[25] a nude[26] female figure "probably representing the same Mother Goddess as the gross figures of the bronze age." She is wearing three collar-like necklaces of beads, the lower one with an oblong pendant, and a longer necklace, possibly of twisted chain work,[27] which supports a flat disc between her breasts.[28] Unfortunately this is partly effaced, so that its general shape only can be seen. Ohnefalsch-Richter publishes a figure of the same period, with her hands held to her breasts, clothed in almost invisible garments.[29] In addition to a collar-like necklace with a small pendant, she wears a longer one from which is suspended a disc with a boss in the center and with tassels hanging from its lower edge.[30] Both necklaces are composed of shell-like objects. The figure is also adorned with an elaborate headdress,[31] ear-coverings of a peculiar Cyprian type,[32] and a nose-ring.[33]

It would be useless to proceed with a description of the various figures wearing necklaces with pendants, for nearly all have them. However, attention should be called to the fact that disc-shaped pendants, whether of the type with a boss in the center, or composed of concentric circles,[34] appear on "Artemis-

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[26] So described, but I suspect that the raised lines extending from the sides of the neck to the breasts are intended to indicate the square-cut neck of a dress. Cf. Ohnefalsch-Richter, *l.c.*, p. 387 (top).

[27] See below, p. 36, n. 45.

[28] A similar pendant, though somewhat smaller, is seen on a clothed female figure from Erech, Heuzey, *Les Origines Orientales*, fig. 6, p. 10. (Her hands are at her breasts.)

[29] *L.c.*, pl. L No. 4, described I, pp. 265–268, 387.

[30] Cf. *ibid.*, pl. L, No. 5 (a priestess of the goddess, clothed, with a *tympanum* suspended at her waist); Perrot et Chipiez, *l.c.* III, fig. 321, p. 450; Cesnola, *Cyprus*, p. 275.

[31] The band below this headdress is much like that seen on the figure last described. Cf. *Hom. Hymn* VI 1, χρυσοστέφανον καλὴν 'Αφροδίτην; *Ibid.* 5, χρυσάμπυκες ·Ωραι.

[32] See De Ridder, *Antiquités Chypriotes*, pls. XVI, XXII, XXIV, pp. 50 f.; Ohnefalsch-Richter, *l.c.*, pl. LV, I, pp. 270 f. Both men agree that it was worn by women as well as goddesses. De Ridder states that it was in style from the 8th to the middle of the 5th century; Ohnefalsch-Richter considers that it was worn in the 6th century, "and in all probability in the fifth as well."

[33] See below, p. 39.

[34] See Walters, *l.c.*, A 77, p. 11, A 88, p. 13 (= pl. XIV). In the first figure there are three shorter necklaces, in the second, a "fragment of a goddess," only two others can be seen, Cf. also *Excav. in Cyprus*, fig. 56, p. 26 (a fragment from Enkomi).

Cybele"[35] and her "priestesses," as well as on Aphrodite and her followers.[36] In general, the greatest difficulty is encountered in any attempt to distinguish between goddesses and human women. The nudity of a figure may justify its acceptance as a representation of Astarte-Aphrodite;[37] but Artemis is always clothed, and so is indistinguishable from her worshippers.[38]

The most striking form of pendant found on Cyprian figures consists of a disc, or a rectangular object, suspended between the breasts, with peculiar flattened rings attached below it; below these are seen signet rings and conventionalized human figures. Ohnefalsch-Richter maintains that these characteristic ornaments occur only in shrines of Artemis-Cybele,[39] but Cesnola describes one which he ascribes to Aphrodite,[40] and Myres speaks of their having been found occasionally in tombs.[41] Dussand, in commenting on these pendants, refers to them as amulets which should be classified as *crepundia*, and suggests that the disc with concentric circles served the purpose of warding off the evil eye.[42] Such speculations are tempting, but as yet they are no more than speculations. Fortunately, this phase of the question does not concern us as much as the form of the necklaces. The mere size and the clumsiness of their pendants are worthy of note; many of them extend below the waist. We shall see that this has an important bearing on the later development of the *cestus*. Furthermore they are not usually suspended from a string of beads, but rather from what Ohnefalsch-Richter

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[35] A goddess of generation, for whom see Ohnefalsch-Richter, *l.c.* I, pp. 303, 305.

[36] *E.g.* the figure *ibid.*, pl. L., No. 1 (= I, p. 386) is called a priestess of Artemis because of its resemblance to the figures found in Artemis shrines. *Ibid.*, No. 5 (= I, p. 387) is even more definitely associated with Aphrodite because of the tambourine which she holds on a cord. See above, p. 34, n. 30.

[37] See *ibid.* I, pp. 265–267; Cesnola, *Salaminia*, p. 211.

[38] For the characteristic features of Artemis and her priestesses see Ohnefalsch-Richter, *l.c.*, pp. 306 f. As to the general distinction between the clothes worn on ordinary occasions and those assumed for religious festivities see Robertson Smith, *l.c.*, pp. 452 f.

[39] *L.c.*, p. 307. Cf. Myres, *l.c.*, pp. 351 f.

[40] *L.c.*, pp. 185 f. The figure is clothed, with five necklaces of different lengths. The four shorter ones are composed of beads, while the longest one, from which the elaborate insignia are suspended, appears as a band of herring-bone pattern, with a line in the center.

[41] *L.c.*, p. 351.

[42] *Mon. et Mem.* xxi, pp. 10 f. (cf., pl. I, Nos. 1 and 2).

calls "an embroidered strap, a twisted cord."[43] Simpler pendants are often suspended by what appears as a plain strap,[44] or a cord of "twisted chain-work."[45] It is quite impossible to determine the actual material of these "cords," but to me, as to Ohnefalsch-Richter,[46] they suggest the possible existence of a prototype of twisted or interwoven thongs, or of an ornamental strap, to which the name *κεστὸς ἱμάς* could have been applied.[47]

With reference to the sacred associations of necklaces in the island of Cyprus, we may quote a part of Pausanias' account of one which was preserved in the temple of Aphrodite and Adonis at Amathus:[48] *ἀνακεῖσθαι δὲ ἐνταῦθα λέγουσιν ὅρμον Ἁρμονίᾳ μὲν δοθέντα ἐξ ἀρχῆς καλούμενον δὲ Ἐριφύλης . . . . . ἐν Ἀμαθοῦντι μὲν γάρ ἐστι λίθοι χλωροί, συνδέοντος χρυσοῦ σφας, ὁ ὅρμος· τὸν δὲ τῇ Ἐριφύλῃ δοθέντα Ὅμηρός φησι ἐν Ὀδυσσείᾳ πεποιῆσθαι χρυσοῦ, καὶ οὕτως ἔχει·*

ἣ χρυσὸν φίλου ἀνδρὸς ἐδέξατο τιμήεντα. .[49]

We need hardly concern ourselves with the question as to whether this necklace had ever been worn by Eriphyle and Harmonia,[50] but it is highly important to observe that such an object was preserved in the shrine of Aphrodite.

From the Homeric poems themselves we get no evidence that the necklace was in any sense sacred, but we do learn that the

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[43] *L.c.*, p. 307. Cf. Walters, *l.c.*, A 123, p. 21, fig. 7, a painted terracotta figure with *calathus*. "She wears long loop-shaped earrings ornamented with studs, and a necklace consisting of a double row of beads, alternately black and red, with a large central stud; round the neck is a sort of double cord (?) ending in ornamented tassels painted black and red, probably intended for flowers."

[44] De Ridder, *l.c.*, No. 109, pl. XXV, p. 127.

[45] Walters, *l.c.*, p. 13 (= A 88, pl. XIV). Cf. above, n. 43, p. 34, n. 34.

[46] *Ibid.*

[47] Another possibility is that the pendant itself was of leather, though such a supposition goes counter to the evidence that the *cestus* of Homer bore some resemblance to a helmet-strap. It is more probable that the pendants in question were of gold: see Walters, *l.c.*, A 77, p. 11, and Patton, *J.H.S.* viii, p. 71, fig. 11, (a gold disc with concentric circles, found in Caria).

[48] IX 41.2. Frazer, *Adonis, Attis and Osiris*, p. 28 n. 2, compares a terracotta statuette of the goddess "found at Amathus (?)," which "represents her wearing a necklace which she touches with one hand," (= Cesnola, *Cyprus*, p. 275).

[49] = *Od.* XI 327.

[50] His point is poorly taken, for we shall see that the typical Homeric necklace was a gold chain strung with beads; it might easily be referred to simply as *χρυσόν*. Hence the necklace at Amathus really was Harmonia's!

ὅρμος resembled the necklaces of our Cypriote figures in being long enough to be accounted a breast-ornament. This is not specifically stated in the first passage which I shall quote (a description of the gifts offered by Penelope's suitors) but we do find a distinction made between a collar-necklace, ἴσθμιον, and the longer ὅρμος:[51]

> ὅρμον δ' Εὐρυμάχῳ πολυδαίδαλον αὐτίκ' ἔνεικε,
> χρύσεον, ἠλέκτροισιν ἐερμένον, ἠέλιον ὥς.[52]
> ἕρματα δ' Εὐρυδάμαντι δύω θεράποντες ἔνεικαν
> τρίγληνα μορόεντα·[53] χάρις δ' ἀπελάμπετο πολλή.
> ἐκ δ' ἄρα Πεισάνδροιο Πολυκτορίδαο ἄνακτος
> ἴσθμιον ἤνεικεν θεράπων, περικαλλὲς ἄγαλμα.

In the Homeric Hymns necklaces are definitely associated with the breasts:[54]

> πέπλον μὲν γὰρ ἕεστο φαεινότερον πυρὸς αὐγῆς,
> εἶχε δ' ἐϋγναμπτὰς ἕλικας κάλυκάς τε φαεινάς·
> ὅρμοι δ' ἀμφ' ἁπαλῇ δειρῇ περικαλλέες ἦσαν,
> καλοί, χρύσειοι, παμποίκιλοι· ὡς δὲ σελήνη
> στήθεσιν ἀμφ' ἁπαλοῖσιν ἐλάμπετο, θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι.

Comparison of this passage with the one last quoted shows that human women and Aphrodite were similarly adorned. Another passage gives evidence that Aphrodite's necklace was identical with those worn by the Horae when they put on their "party" clothes for an Olympian "ball":[55]

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[51] *Od.* XVIII 295–300. Cf. Helbig, *Homerische Epos*, p. 268, and *Hom. Hymn*, III 103 f.:

> . . . ὑποσχόμεναι μέγαν ὅρμον
> χρυσείοισι λίνοισιν ἐερμένον, ἐννεάπηχυν.

As to the probable nature of this necklace, see Allen and Sikes *ad loc.*, and Th. Homolle, *Bull. de Cor. Hel.* vi, pp. 123 f.

[52] A necklace of a similar type was used as a bribe, *Od.* XV 459 f.

[53] Cf. *Il.* XIV 182 f., where Hera puts on the same sort of earrings in preparation for her meeting with Aphrodite.

[54] *Hom. Hymn*, IV 86–90.

[55] *Hom. Hymn*, VI 10–13.

δειρῇ δ' ἀμφ' ἁπαλῇ καὶ στήθεσιν ἀργυφέοισιν
ὅρμοισι χρυσέοισιν[56] *ἐκόσμεον, οἷσι περ αὐταὶ*
Ὧραι κοσμείσθην χρυσάμπυκες, ὁππότ' ἴοιεν
ἐς χορὸν ἱμερόεντα θεῶν καὶ δώματα πατρός.

From these descriptions in the Homeric Hymns we get definite confirmation of Ohnefalsch-Richter's conjecture that the *κεστὸς ἱμάς* was some form of long necklace with a pendant hanging between the breasts; Aphrodite actually wore such an object. At the same time we must face the fact that the goddess' *ὅρμος* is not a sacred attribute or charm to which she has an exclusive claim, but a beautiful and valuable ornament worn by mortal women, an appropriate gift or bribe. A wealth of evidence supports the conclusion that the necklaces of our Cypriote figures were of the same character, only attributed to Aphrodite because human women thought them beautiful. It seems to me quite possible that Homer's *κεστὸς ἱμὰς ποικίλος* was nothing more than one of these ornaments, made the subject of an extravagant poetical description because it was worn by the goddess of love. On the other hand, it should be noticed that a *ἱμάς* is not the same thing as the golden cord strung with amber beads, which we meet in the *Odyssey* and the Homeric Hymns. The *cestus* may possibly have been an older attribute of the goddess, introduced into Homeric Greece with the first acceptance of her cult. In this way it may have become the object of a certain amount of awe because of its strangeness, regardless of the fact that it had been an everyday ornament among the people from whom the cult was derived.

Before leaving the discussion of our Cypriote figures, it may be worth while, for the purpose of comparison, to turn our attention for a moment to another interesting attribute of Astarte-Aphrodite, namely the nose-ring. Unfortunately, necklaces are worn almost universally, but a nose-ring is more dis-

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[56] Cf. Hesiod, *Works and Days* 73 f. (the adornment of Pandora):
ἀμφὶ δέ οἱ χάριτές τε θεαὶ καὶ πότνια Πειθὼ
ὅρμους χρυσείους ἔθεσαν χροΐ.

tinctive,[57] so that its origin and significance may be traced with some hope of obtaining definite results.

The nose-ring appears in Cypriote art exclusively on figures of Astarte-Aphrodite and her priestesses or worshippers, found in precincts of the goddess.[58] This points strongly to the conclusion that the ornament was introduced in connection with the worship of the goddess, and that it retained its religious association without ever becoming a popular woman's ornament, as the necklace did. Indeed, nose-rings appear on figures which show by their style that they were produced over a period of several centuries; and in all this period the figures of women found elsewhere never show the same ornament, so that we may consider its ritual significance fairly established. The source of the Cypriote nose-ring has been traced to Palestine, whence it was apparently imported into the island in connection with the worship of Astarte-Aphrodite.[59] Whether or not the nose-ring was definitely associated with *cultus* among the Hebrews, we may assume that it was first used by human beings, either as an ornament or as an amulet.[60] These wearers of the nose-ring attributed their peculiar ornament to the goddess, whom they naturally adorned in accordance with current ideals of feminine beauty. Other peoples borrowing the cult of the goddess still associated the nose-ring with her worship, and may even have regarded it with special veneration because they were unfamiliar with its use in daily life.

If Homer's *κεστὸς ἱμάς* had a distinctly religious history, we may conjecture that it was somewhat like that of the Cypriote

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[57] This is the case in Europe and America, though nose-rings and other nose ornaments are quite common in nearly all other parts of the world. See, in general, O. Hovorka, *Mittheil. der Anthrop. Gesellsch. zu Wien* xxv (1895), pp. 155–176; O. Stoll, *Das Geschlechtesleben in der Völkerpsychologie*, pp. 108, 110 f.; J. A. MacCulloch, in *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* IX, pp. 397 f. There are two theories as to the origin of this peculiar practice, one that it is for the purpose of adornment (Hovorka, *l.c.*, p. 175; Westermarck, *A History of Human Marriage* I, pp. 504 f.), the other that it has a magical purpose (Robertson Smith, *l.c.*, p. 453, n. 2).

[58] Ohnefalsch-Richter, *l.c.* I, pp. 267–269, 384 (top), II pls. XLVIII, No. 3, L No. 4 (above, p. 34), LV Nos. 1–7.

[59] At least in the later phases of the development of the cult. For the supposed ritual significance of the nose-ring among the Hebrews, see below pp. 75–77.

[60] See above, n. 57.

nose-ring: imported from a foreign land (probably Cyprus) in connection with a foreign cult, it had a definite religious significance in its new home, in spite of the fact that it was an ornament universally worn in the island from which it came. Among the Homeric Greeks its association with the goddess assured its perpetuation until it was generally adopted as a human ornament, or rejected in favor of something which was considered more appropriate.

Jacob Grimm has called attention to an interesting parallel between Aphrodite's *κεστὸς ἱμάς* and the necklace, *brîsîngamen*, of the Norse goddess of love and beauty, Freyja:[61] "Die wichtigkeit dieser saga von der gottin halsschmuck steigt aber noch, wenn wir grieschische mythe hinzuhalten. Brîsîngamen ist nichts anders als Afrodites *ὅρμος* (hymn. in Ven. 88) und die kette wiederum ihr gürtel, der *κεστὸς ἱμὰς ποικίλος*, den sie am busen trägt, dessen zauber alle götter und sterbliche gewältigt. von ihrem hals (*ἀπὸ στήθεσφιν*) löst. . . " This necklace of Freyja was supposed to have the same power as the *cestus*,[62] but at the same time it was beautiful and costly. While others discuss the question whether it was symbolical of the moon or of the rainbow,[63] we may suggest the possibility that it was originally nothing but a glorified ornament. Certainly a similar object was worn by mortals, as well as by mythical characters,[64] though the prominence of the word for necklace in the formation of proper names may imply that it had a certain mystical or sentimental significance, like that which attached to the word *cestus*. This use of the Norse word in proper names recalls immediately the similar use of Cestus or Cestos,[65] and carries out an almost perfect parallel.

[61] *Mythologie* I, p. 284. See also p. 283, and W. Golther, *Handbuch der Germanischen Mythologie*, p. 453.

[62] W. Crooke, *Folklore* xix (1908), p. 71.

[63] Paul, *Grundriss der Germanischen Philologie* III, p. 372.

[64] Grimm, *l.c.*, p. 284, n. 1, "gerade wie sich aus Freyja der allgemeine begrif freyja frouwa ergab, gereicht auch das tragen des halsbandes zur bezeichnung einer schönen frau oder jungfrau. *menglodt* (monile laeta) ist Saem. 97a femina, Menglöd Saem. 108a 111a wiederum eigennamen . . . menskögul steht. . . von Brynhildr. frauen werden überhaupt nach ihren schmuck an gold und edelstein benannt . . ." Paul, *ibid.*, "nach diesem Kleinod hiess die Göttin Menglod 'die mit dem Halsschmuck Beladenes' . . . Infolge dieser Schönheit hat ihr die Dichtung zwei Töchter beigelegt . . . den personifizierten Schmuck und das Kleinod."

[65] See above, p. 19.

IV

Though we may have found a plausible explanation of the *cestus* of Homer in early representations of necklaces, the *balteus* or *cingulum* of later writers must almost certainly be thought of as something different. It would be absurd, for instance, to refer the words ὑπὲκ λαγώνων[1] to the wearing of an ordinary necklace; and the evidence that the later *cestus* was something in the nature of a shoulder-belt is so convincing that we should try to see how it may have developed from a simpler neck ornament. As a matter of fact, I think it can be shown without much difficulty that the ornamental shoulder-belt is little more than a lengthened necklace.[2]

We may turn our attention first to a class of figures variously denominated as "temple boys,"[3] or representations of Tamuz Adonis,[4] which occur in Cyprus from the fifth or sixth centuries on. Fortunately we are not concerned with the identity of the characters, but rather with the appearance of their ornaments. Myres describes these in part as follows:[5] "Some wear earrings (1210–1211, 1218–19) and bracelets (1210, 1217) and nearly all wear a chain of beads with many pendant amulets, including numerous signet-rings.[6] This chain is usually worn over one

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[1] Above, p. 16, n. 52.

[2] It was apparently first developed in Mesopotamia; cf. Contenau, *l.c.*, fig. 67, p. 65 (a terracotta from Susa, of a nude female figure wearing a shoulder-belt with rows of beads (?) at the edges).

[3] Myres, *l.c.*, pp. 128 f., 185–187. The figures are characterized by their peculiar half-squatting posture, with one foot extended while they sit on the other.

[4] Ohnefalsch-Richter, *l.c.*, pp. 202, 204–207. I am inclined to Myres' explanation because of the objects which the figures sometimes hold (Myres, *l.c.*, p. 187), and because they occur in shrines of Apollo, as well as in those of Aphrodite (*ibid.*, p. 128 f.).

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 187.

[6] Cf. above, p. 35. Myres, *ibid.*, offers the suggestion that these rings may signify that the wearer was a custodian of temple-treasures or archives. A single large ring occurs as a pendant attached to a necklace on a "temple boy" found in Etruria, Ohnefalsch-Richter, *l.c.* II, pl. XCII, No. 1.

shoulder and under the other arm,[7] but sometimes as a necklace (1218, 1220); . . . similar chains of pendant signets are worn by sculptured figures of Graeco-Indian style." The fact that similar objects were worn in these two different ways shows that the development was in reality a natural and easy one. Most striking is the wearing of a string of signet-rings either as a necklace or as a shoulder-belt.[8]

Ohnefalsch-Richter is convinced that the pendants worn by the "Tamuz-Adonis" boys had some magical or ritual significance,[9] whether they were of triangular shape[10] or tubular;[11] and it is to this that he attributes the perpetuation of the triangular form in Etruria and even in modern Cyprus. However, since we know very little as to the nature of these figures, and less as to their ornaments, it is hardly safe to attempt any further explanation. My purpose in describing them has been simply to show the natural relation between a necklace and a shoulder-belt.

The next figures I wish to consider are far more important, since they not only illustrate the transition from necklace to shoulder-belt, but also represent either Astarte-Aphrodite or her priestesses, so that the object worn may very possibly be what

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[7] See, for example, Myres, *l.c.*, No. 1211, p. 187 (a stone figure of the Hellenistic period), No. 1463, p. 259 (a terracotta "probably Ptolemaic work of the third century"), Nos. 2291–2298, p. 361 (terracottas described as "late Greek"). Cf. the standing "male votaries," *ibid.*, Nos. 1188–1202, pp. 185 f. (after 300 B.C.), and the "female votary," *ibid.*, No. 2190, p. 355 (between 550 and 300 B.C.). Strings of *crepundia* (?) or *bullae* worn in the same way are seen on Italian vases and mirrors, worn by various figures, including Eros (Walters, *Catalogue of the Vases in the British Museum* IV, F 223, p. 110, pl. IX, F 271, p. 126), the baby Dionysus (Gerhard, *Etruskische Spiegel* I, pl. LXXXII), a child in a mythical scene called "*Pilonicos Tasei filios*" (*ibid.* V, pl. 108, text pp. 142 f.), and ordinary human children (Tischbein, *Engravings of Hamilton* II, pl. 17; Baumeister, *Denkmäler* II, fig. 832). Cf. Dar. et Sagl. I, p. 254, fig. 301 (a terracotta figure of a child holding a torch in each hand). See also Fernique, Dar. et Sagl. I, p. 1561, *s.v. Crepundia.*

[8] Cf. Ohnefalsch-Richter, *l.c.* II, pl. XXXIII, Nos. 3, 4 (= I, p. 205) with *ibid.* I, p. 206.

[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 205 f.

[10] *Ibid.*, and II, pl. XXXIII, Nos. 1, 2, 5 (all of stone). He states, p. 205, that "they indicate plainly the cone, the triangle of the Paphian Astarte-Aphrodite." If this is the case, the triangle pendant can have no connection with the κεστὸς ἱμάς of Homer, since worship of the sacred cone in the temple at Amathus started at a later date. See *ibid.*, p. 262.

[11] *Ibid.* II, pl. XCII, No. 4, I, p. 205. Cf. above, p. 33 (bottom).

was later called a *cestus*. The first is an archaic bronze mirror-handle from Cyprus, in the form of a nude Astarte. Ohnefalsch-Richter describes it:[12] "The lofty headdress of the goddess is composed of a flower, as in the images of that deity, who is formed by the union of Aphrodite and Isis; she carries a pair of cymbals[13] and stands on a frog. She wears, in addition to the chain on her neck, a strap passing from the left shoulder to the right hip . . . in the place of a quiver is a massive signet ring."[14] The "strap" shows cross-markings. On the shoulders are seen the remains of the paws of a lion. The *crotali* would be quite as appropriate to a priestess as to a goddess, but the lion's paws, the headdress and the nudity of the figure (in the archaic period), all point to the divinity of the character, whether she be called Astarte or Aphrodite. G. M. A. Richter assigns it to "about the middle of the sixth century B. C.", and remarks as to its origin:[15] "Although this came from Cyprus, it could hardly have originated there, since it shows no affinities with Cypriote art as distinguished from the pure Greek art of the period. It is probably the product of a Peloponnesian school, both from its style and because mirrors of similar design have been found in the Peloponnesus." But Tsountas, in publishing a similar figure from Amyclae,[16] calls it either an importation or an imitation of Cyprian work! Perrot and Chipiez add to the confusion by calling the mirror handle from Cyprus Phoenician work of the Alexandrian period, which shows Egyptian influence in the frog.[17] I am personally inclined to the view that the figure was manufactured at Cyprus, probably in the sixth century.[18]

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[12] *Ibid.* I, p. 285, II, pl. CVII, No. 2.

[13] Cf. *ibid.* I, pp. 270, 387, II, pls. L, No. 5 (above, p. 34, n. 30), LI, Nos 1, 2, 3.

[14] Cf. the signet ring worn as a necklace-pendant, above, p. 41, n. 6. G. M. A. Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, p. 14, describes the shoulder-belt we are considering as "a chain or cord with four amulets or jewels attached to it—a crescent and a large signet ring (?) in front, and two small indeterminate objects behind." She calls the figure a dancing girl.

[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 14 f.

[16] *Ephem. Arch.* 1892, pp. 10 f.

[17] *L.c.* III, p. 863.

[18] G. M. A. Richter speaks of its lack of "affinities with Cypriote art," but Cypriote art is peculiarly interesting because of its varied "affinities" with Assyrian, Hittite, Egyptian, and pure Greek art.

A similar bronze mirror support from Amyclae has already been mentioned.[19] The nude female figure is holding *crotali*, like the last figure described, and has a broad, flower-like projection above the head to hold the mirror. The shoulder-belt has two indistinguishable bunches. However, the frog is lacking, and her hair falls over her shoulders in a mass which contrasts strongly with the snug coiffure of Cypriote ladies of the archaic period. For these reasons I do not agree with Tsountas in thinking it might be an importation from Cyprus, though it may be an imitation of island work. Certainly the artist was trying to express a similar idea.

Still another archaic bronze mirror-handle, in this case from Voritza, in the gulf of Ambracia, has the form of a nude goddess wearing a shoulder-belt, and holding a *crotalus* in her extended right hand (the left hand is missing).[20] To the cord which passes over her shoulder are attached two "Amuletten", the upper one apparently a large cylinder, the lower one in the shape of a crescent. Her headdress has the form of a huge *calathus* held in place by straps which cross at the back of her neck, and her hair falls to her shoulders in a flat mass, somewhat as in the case of the figure from Amyclae. Two winged figures at the sides of the head are noteworthy, since, if they may be called Erotes, they constitute one of our earliest representations of them. The date of the work is given as the second half of the sixth century.

The wide distribution of these mirror handles in the form of Aphrodite, or Astarte-Aphrodite, evidences the diffusion of her cult. Her nudity, the *crotali*, and her shoulder-belt are probably due to eastern influence, transmitted by way of Cyprus. Certainly we must recognize the ornamental shoulder-belt as an attribute sufficiently important to be represented in art in widely separated parts of the ancient world. Whether anyone called it a *cestus* or not may be subject to grave doubt; but we shall find reason to conclude that it was fundamentally the

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[19] Above, p. 43, n. 16.

[20] C. Praschniker, *Jahresheft der Öst. Arch. Inst.* xviii (1915), pp. 57–60, figs. 28–30.

same as the object which Martial and Lucian called by that name.

We now come to what must be considered direct corroboration of Lucian's statement that Urania wore the *cestus*. A bronze candelabrum support from Etruria shows that goddess standing on a tortoise, fully clothed, wearing a band or strap over one shoulder as a *balteus*.[21] She is holding a fruit in her right hand. The style is archaic, noticeably in the manner in which she holds out her skirt from her right hip.[22] In this figure we have an object which corresponds with ancient descriptions of the *cestus*, worn by a character who is specifically referred to as having worn that attribute.

With these supports of mirrors and candelabra found in Cyprus, Amyclae, Ambracia and Etruria, may be compared another bronze mirror-handle from Kherson.[23] It is in the form of a completely clothed figure of Aphrodite adorned with a plain shoulder-belt and a close fitting necklace. Above the goddess are lions, while other animals are seen at both sides of the head.[24] The face is round and homely—decidedly non-Greek—and is probably to be assigned to a period much later than that of the objects with which it is compared. This fact gives it still more significance, because it illustrates the persistence, as well as the wide diffusion of the plain shoulder-belt as an ornament of Aphrodite.

From about the fourth century on, shoulder-belts and cross-belts appear as ornaments so frequently that it will be advisable to deal with the representations in groups, classified according to the form of the object and the nature of the wearers, whether mythical or human. The chief aim of our discussion will be to determine whether these objects occur in such a way as to con-

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[21] Gerhard, *Gesammelte Akademische Abhandlungen* III, Taf. 29.3, I, p. 262. For the significance of the tortoise and its association with Aphrodite Urania, see Bernoulli, *l.c.*, pp. 57, n. 3, 59, n. 2; Gruppe, *Griech. Myth.* II, p. 1349. For the relation of Etruria to Cyprus, see Ohnefalsch-Richter, *l.c.*, pp. 207, 280 f. Urania is sometimes represented with a broad, ruffled band worn as a shoulder-belt, *e.g.* Reinach, *Rép. d. Stat.* III, p. 101, No. 2; Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States* II, pl. XLIII a, p. 684.

[22] Cf. Gerhard, *l.c.* III, Taf. 28. 4–6.

[23] Reinach, *Rép. d. Stat.* III, p. 256, No. 10.

[24] Cf. above, p. 43.

firm what we learned about the *cestus* from ancient literature: it should appear on figures of Aphrodite and Eros, and in scenes where a love-motive is self-evident; but we should also expect to find it as a mere ornament (*genus ornatus*) worn by both male and female figures, by human figures as well as by characters from mythology. As to its appearance, theoretically the *cestus* should be either a flat band, a *lorum*, or a string of beads. However, if the object was a mere ornament, as Festus informs us, we must expect such variation in its form as occurs in the case of any article of jewelry. In addition we must bear in mind the fact that an artist often represents such accessories as jewelry in a very sketchy manner, whether from design or lack of skill, so that it is quite possible that where a shoulder-belt appears as a simple line or a plain band the artist intended to suggest a string of beads or an elaborate belt.[25] With these preliminary remarks we may proceed with our classification.

1. Aphrodite is seen wearing a plain shoulder-belt in the relief work of a bronze mirror-case in the British Museum (*Cat. of Bronzes*, No. 727), which represents her with Anchises.[26] The figure is nude except for a himation twisted around the right thigh.[27]

Though it does not illustrate the manner of wearing the *cestus*, the Altoviti Venus is important as giving us an idea of its actual appearance.[28] On the right hand of the figure, which is held over her left breast, can be seen a fragment of a strap about an inch wide, decorated with bosses and squares.[29] Milani

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[25] This suppression of minute details is especially common in statuettes and engraved mirrors. Painted vases, on the other hand, give a more adequate representation of the sort of detail with which we are concerned.

[26] Bernoulli, *l.c.*, p. 107, n. 12, identifies the shoulder-belt with the military *balteus*.

[27] Nearly all the figures I shall describe are nude or only draped below the waist. But see below, pp. 50, 60 (bottom), 62 (top), 68.

[28] Some scholars have doubted the antiquity of the Altoviti Venus, but Chase, *Greek and Roman Sculpture in American Collections*, p. 145, calls it the work of a Greek sculptor of the Roman age. It is unusual to find objects of the nature of jewelry represented in life-size statuary, since they were generally added superficially. See above, p. 22.

[29] Bosworth, *Altoviti Aphrodite*, p. 59.

calls the object a bracelet,[30] but its length is undetermined, and the position in which it is held suggests the more significant *cestus*.

A Campanian *Lekane*, Walters, *Cat. of the Vases in the British Museum*[31] IV, F 207 a, p. 104, is described as showing a female figure, Aphrodite (?), holding a pigeon. She has beads over her shoulder and around her thigh. Before her is another figure, Peitho (?), with an apple. The other side of the vase, *ibid.* b., shows a nude female figure seated on a rock, with a nude youth facing her. Both of these have shoulder-belts of beads, as well as other jewelry. The youth is wearing one wreath and holding another in his hand.

A similar shoulder-belt is worn by a figure variously called Venus or Cyrene—in company with Adonis or Apollo.[32] Since the lady is riding in a chariot drawn by swans, I am inclined to favor the view that she is Aphrodite. But, inasmuch as she is turning to her escort for a kiss, the erotic element is sufficiently pronounced to justify the representation of a *cestus*, whichever interpretation is accepted.

2. Eros. Reinach, *Rép.d.Stat.* III, p. 131, No. 8, shows a marble statue of Eros, from Ancy, in which the god is represented wearing a plain, wide shoulder-belt.[33]

Roux, *Pompeii* V, pl. 38 No. 2, a wall-painting, shows Eros in a racing chariot driving a pair of gazelles. He wears a narrow belt over his left shoulder.

On a white-figured vase, Furtwängler-Reichold, ser. 2 Taf. 100.1 a, described II, pp. 209 f., Aphrodite is represented fully clad, holding her sceptre, with one bird perched on her hand and another at her feet. At her side is Eros, nude, with bracelet, anklet, and a white shoulder-belt. The publishers give the date of the vase as not earlier than the middle of the fourth century.

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[30] *Strena Helbigiana*, pp. 191–193.

[31] Hereafter abbreviated *Cat.*

[32] *Cat.* IV, F 100, pp. 58 f.; *Ann. dell' Inst.* 1845, pl. M, pp. 360 ff. (Jahn), pp. 419 ff. (Lenormant), p. 363 (De Witte). Walters, Lenormant and De Witte pronounce the figure Venus, Jahn calls her Cyrene.

[33] These plain shoulder-belts might possibly be explained as intended for the support of a quiver, but their wide occurrence on other figures and the occurrence of purely ornamental shoulder-belts on figures of Eros point to the conclusion that all were of the same non-practical nature.

Körte gives the name of Eros to a wingless male figure which appears at the right of an Eos and Cephalus scene on a bronze mirror from Palestrina, Gerhard, *Etruskische Spiegel* V, Taf. 75, text pp. 91 f. The figure is wearing a shoulder-belt consisting of a cord which appears to be tied in bow knots at several places.

A wide shoulder-belt decorated with dots is seen on a figure of Eros in Reinach *l.c.* IV, p. 266 No. 5. The dots may be intended to indicate studding with beads.

In vase-paintings of Apulian style a shoulder-belt consisting of a string of beads becomes an attribute of Eros that is almost as constant as his wings; and it is very common on other Italian vases.[34] One description will suffice for the type (*Cat.*, IV F 279, p. 137): "Eros . . . earrings, necklace, bracelets, strings of beads over l. shoulder and around r. thigh." Variations occur in the other jewelry worn, especially in the omission of the beads around the thigh. In a few cases Eros is represented with two strings of beads over his shoulder instead of one.[35] The importance of beads as erotic symbols is also shown by the fact that Eros at times holds them in his hands.[36] They also appear in the ground of vase-paintings, where they may be supposed to possess a significance comparable with that of wreaths and fillets.[37]

3. Dionysiac Figures. The frequent association of Eros with Dionysus and his followers has been noted by Furtwängler;[38]

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[34] *E.g. Cat.* IV, F 279, 332, 340, 379, 384, 387, 391, 392, 396, 398, 399, 405, 406, 408, 409, 420, 421 (all Apulian Style); F 31 (Athenian Style); F 194 (Campanian Style); F 152 (Style of Assteas); Baumeister I, Taf. III, No. 462, p. 422; Tischbein, *l.c.* III, pls. 35, 36; *Mon. dell' Inst.* vi (1860), tav. 42 A; Inghirami, *Pitt. di Vas. Etrus.* I, pl. LXVI, p. 110, IV, pl. CCCXXIV, pp. 36 f.; *Compte Rend. de la Comm. Imp. de St. Peters.* 1872, pl. VI, No. 2. Cf. a bronze mirror found in Crete, dated about 300 B.C., *Gaz. Arch.* 1876, pl. 27, p. 109. See also below, pp. 54, 55, 57 (top), 60 (top).

[35] *Compte Rend. de la Comm. Imp. de St. Peters.* 1873, frontispiece (cf. p. 50); *Mon. dell' Inst.* vi (1860), tav. 42 B; *ibid.* viiii (1872), tav. 38.

[36] *Cat.* IV, F 194, p. 99 (he has a string of beads over his shoulder and another one in his left hand, together with a fruit); F 3, p. 28 (a toilet scene in which Eros is holding out a white string of beads in one hand and a yellow one in the other).

[37] See, *e.g.*, *ibid.*, F 231, pp. 112 f. Cf. below, p. 68 (top).

[38] *Eros in der Vasenmalerei*, p. 40. Cf. *Cat.* IV, F 152, p. 75, a bell crater in the style of Assteas showing Eros, with a shoulder-belt of beads, facing Dionysus.

and it is only natural to find the love-god's symbol worn by others in scenes of a type which he often graces in person. *Pitt. di Vas. Etrus.* I, pl. LXXXVIII, pp. 127–129, shows Dionysus, a Satyr and Eros in a group with two clothed women (Maenads ?). All three of the male figures are nude, and wear shoulder-belts of beads. It is interesting to note that in this scene, as in many others, the Maenads (?) are not equipped with the *cestus*, either because they did not come so completely under Cupid's power in their celebration of the rites of Bacchus, or because the ancients often seem to have thought quite as much of the sexual attraction of youths as of that of women.[39] Certainly Dionysus and his Satyrs might be expected to wear the *cestus*, if Martial's *puer* was given one. Sometimes the erotic element in these Dionysiac scenes is brought out by an Aegipan's reaching toward a Maenad (*Cat.* IV, F 203), or by a Satyr's handing a pomegranate to one (*ibid.* F 130).[40] Both these male figures wear shoulder-belts of beads. Tischbein, *l.c.* IV, pl. 29 (= Reinach, *Rép. d. Vas.* II, p. 327, No. 6) shows two women bathing in the presence of a Satyr who is wearing the same ornament.[41] In other cases the mere presence of Maenads is to be noted;[42] while frequently the male figures are by themselves.[43]

A Maenad (?), only half clad, appears on the cover of a *lekane* in company with a Satyr, Berndorf, *Griech. u. Sicil. Vas.* III, pl. 45, p. 98. Both characters are bringing offerings to an altar,

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[39] Cf. the Narcissus story, the characters Iuventius and Lesbia in Catullus' poetry, and the couplets of Damoetas and Menalcas, Verg., *Ecl.* III, 64–75. But see below, p. 50, for representations of Maenads wearing the shoulder-belt

[40] For the fruit, cf. above, pp. 45 (top), 47, 48, n. 36 below, pp. 56, 57, n. 71.

[41] The bathing may be of a ceremonial character. Cf. below, p. 67.

[42] *Cat.* IV, F 235, 253. Cf. Dar. et Sagl. I, fig. 1296, p. 1043 (Dionysus with shoulder-belt of beads, other jewelry, and an ivy wreath, in company with Demeter Thesmophoros).

[43] *Cat.* IV, F 153 (Dionysus), F 190 (a Satyr); Tischbein, *l.c.* I, pls. 40, 41, II pls. 29, 37 (Dionysus or a Satyr); Müller-Wies., pl. XXXII, No. 366 (a Satyr); Tischbein, *l.c.* I, pl. 42 (a satyr and a centaur); Reinach, *Rép. d. Stat.* IV, p. 70, No. 7; *Pitt. di Vas. Etrus.* IV, pl. CCCXLII, p. 64 (youth or Satyr). Another vase-painting, *Cat.* IV, F 149 b., p. 73 (= *J.H.S.* xi, pl. 7, p. 225, vi, p. 40) is described in part by Walters: "Dionysus . . . shoulder-belt with white dots . . . the Satyr wears . . . shoulder-belt of white beads . . . youth . . . has shoulder-belt as Satyr and thyrsus in l. hand. Pan with . . . wreath and shoulder-belt as the others." Murray, *J.H.S.* xi, p. 230, calls the "youth" Semele or Ariadne. For Ariadne, see below, pp. 50, 64.

and wear shoulder-belts of beads, in addition to other jewelry. The Satyr is also wearing a wreath. A Bacchante is represented gliding along hand in hand with a youth in a wall-painting from Herculaneum, Müller-Wies, pl. XLV No. 566, (= II, p. 52). Her clothes are flying in the wind, and she is wearing a shoulder-belt which appears as a yellow chain. Reinach, *Rép.d.Stat.* III, p. 118, No. 6, reproduces a small bronze statuette, of a nude female figure called a Maenad,[44] who is wearing a peculiar, thick shoulder-belt, which may very possibly be some form of garment other than the object we are trying to trace.

Two fully clothed Maenads are represented wearing shoulder-belts of beads in Reinach, *Rép.d.Vas.* II, p. 318.[45] Since it happens that nearly all the figures we find with this ornament are wholly or partially nude, it is important to notice that lack of clothes was not an absolute prerequisite for its use. With reference to the vase in question, it might be remarked that the two figures wearing shoulder-belts are distinguished from the third woman in the scene by their caps and thyrsi. Another clothed Maenad (?), in company with Dionysus, is seen wearing a cord or string of beads as a *balteus* in Reinach, *Rép.d.Stat.* II, part 1, p. 129, No. 2.

Libera or Ariadne (?) is represented fully clad in a marble, *ibid.* I, p. 392, pl. 696. She has a thyrsus in one hand and grapes in the other, and is wearing a narrow cord as a shoulder-belt. A small bronze, *ibid.* II, p. 409, No. 5, shows Ariadne (?), nude, riding on a panther, and wearing an object similar to the one seen *ibid.* III, p. 118, No. 6.[46] Schreiber, *Atlas*, pl. LXXXIII No. 1, publishes a vase-painting which represents this same character wearing a necklace and a shoulder-belt of beads. Eros is pouring perfume on her hair. In a wall-painting of Bacchus and Ariadne, Roux, *Pompeii* IV, pl. 66, p. 138, Ariadne is wearing a shoulder-belt in the form of a golden chain.[47]

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[44] For the occurrence of nude Maenads in Italian art, see A. Rapp, *Rhein. Mus.* xxvii (1872), pp. 575–577.

[45] Tischbein, *l.c.* III, p. 68, describes the figures as initiates into the mysteries of Ceres.

[46] Above, p. 50.

[47] Cf. Müller-Wies, pl. XLV, No. 566, above, p. 50.

4. Other Mythical Characters. Reinach, *Rép.d.Vas.* II, p. 336 (= Tischbein, *l.c.* V, pl. 11) shows Apollo, seated, nude to the waist, wearing a wreath and a *balteus* of beads.[48] He is holding a branch of laurel in one hand, while with the other he is presenting a wreath to a Muse who stands before him with a lyre and plectrum.

Mercury and two Satyrs appear wearing shoulder-belts of beads in a vase-painting which represents Cadmus slaying the dragon, *Pitt.di Vas. Etrus.* III, pls. CCXXXIX, CCXL, pp. 74–76.

The infant Hercules, suckling at the breast of Hera, *Cat.* IV, F 107, p. 60 (= Overbeck, *Kunst.* Hera, p. 140 L; *Arch. Zeit.* i, p. 75) is represented as a "nude youth with bracelets, shoulder-belt and anklets." That the artist intended to depict the child as ideally lovable may be suggested by the fact that he also equipped the Eros in the scene with a *balteus*, but one composed of leaves or flowers.[49]

On a vase by Assteas, Baumeister I, fig. 732, Hercules is shown preparing to kill one of his children. The boy, whom he holds in his arms, is nude,[50] with bracelets, anklets, and a shoulder-belt composed of a cord to which beads are attached. The shoulder-belt, as well as the other jewelry, is possibly intended to emphasize the natural charm of the son, and bring into contrast the cruelty of the father.

By analogy with Eros, Harpocrates, the child-god of the Egyptians, is represented with a plain shoulder-belt, Reinach *Rép.d.Stat.* IV, p. 298, No. 1.[51] The small, gold-coated bronze in question shows him with the usual high headdress, holding a cornucopia in his hand.

Etruscan mirrors supply numerous examples of shoulder-belts, but the artists' knowledge of mythology is so slight—or so carelessly applied—that it is often quite impossible to tell what scene is represented in a given case. Even where inscriptions give the names of the characters, they are likely to be

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[48] Cf. below, p. 60.
[49] Cf. below, p. 57.
[50] Although something which appears as a light veil is thrown over the upper part of the boy's legs and Hercules' left arm.
[51] Cf. below, p. 69.

meaningless: I noticed "Artumes" (Artemis) over a man![52] There is a tendency to arrange the figures in a convenient, symmetrical scheme, for instance with two seated men at the sides, facing the center, and two standing women between them, and to vary the names at will. Of the standing women, one is frequently Minerva and the other a nude figure who stands to the front and wears a shoulder-cord.[53] The seated men are called the Dioscuri, or the Cabeiri,[54] if other names are not ascribed to them by the artist. To this class belong Gerhard, *l.c.* I, pl. LIX, No. 1, III pl. CCLIX, No. 2 (text III, pt. 2, p. 279), III, pl. CCLXXVI, Nos. 1, 2 (text III, pt. 2, p. 315). In both of the figures of this last plate an unidentified clothed woman takes the place of Minerva. It has been suggested that Paris and Helen are represented in No. 2. The nude figure in CCLXXVI, No. 1, is especially distinguished by a crown.[55]

On an inscribed mirror we find Juno wearing a shoulder-belt which appears as a cord to which are attached a number of pendant cords three or four inches long,[56] *ibid.* V, Taf. 98, No. 2 (text V, pp. 126 f.). The other figures in the scene are Paris, Turan (Venus), and Minerva.

On another one, *ibid.* V, Taf. 85, No. 2 (text V, p. 103), the nude figure, wearing a simple shoulder-cord, is labelled "Malavis"; the two seated men at the sides, the "Dioscuri," have the names "Aplu" (Apollo), and "Hercle" (Hercules); the fourth figure, standing in the left center, is a young man with chlamys, holding spears, with the word "Artumes" inscribed over his head.

"Cas(tr)a" (Cassandra) is the figure with the *cestus* in another case, *ibid.* V, Taf. 85, No. 1 (text V, p. 102). With her are "Uθte" (Odysseus), "(M)e(n) e(r)va" (Minerva) and "Ziumθe" (Diomede). Odysseus has a Phrygian cap; and in general it may be said that there are no distinguishing attributes in these compositions except the helmet and spear of Minerva. All the nude women who wear the shoulder-cord also have other

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[52] See below, p. 52 (bottom).

[53] With one exception (a figure of Eros (?) above, p. 48 (top) the shoulder- and cross-belts I have seen on these mirrors are worn by women.

[54] For the Cabeiri, see Rolfe, *A.J.A.* xiii, p. 17.

[55] Cf. below, p. 66.

[56] Cf. below, p. 62.

jewelry, notably short necklaces which usually have pendants indicated by short lines.[57] Probably all these mirrors are relatively late, belonging to the second and third centuries B.C.[58]

In a composition which departs from the Dioscuri type, *ibid.* II, pl. CLXXVI (text III, pt. 1, pp. 168–171), we find figures inscribed "Tu(ran)," "Athrpa," "Meliaph," "Atlenta," *i.e.* Venus, Atropos, Meleager, Atalanta. The last named figure has a shoulder-belt, and necklace with beads and pendants; she also holds a spear. Gerhard may be right in calling the shoulder-belt a "Kocherband oder Wehrgehenk"[59] but the fact that we find the same figure with a cord worn as a cross-belt leads me to include this mirror in my list.[60]

5. Human Beings. Tischbein, *l.c.* III, pl. 54, shows a nude youth and a fully dressed young woman sacrificing before an altar. The youth, who is holding a torch, wears a wreath, beads over his shoulder and around his thigh, anklets and a bracelet. His companion is wearing an open cap and a fillet which terminates in beads, and holds a pail in one hand. The figures have their disengaged arms around each other's shoulders.[61]

A scene of Bacchic worship is represented in *Pitt. di Vas. Etrus.* II, pl. CLXVI, text pp. 84–86.[62] Between a Satyr, holding an amphora, and a seated Bacchus(?) with a thyrsus is a nude woman adorned with bracelets, anklet, a cord around her thigh to which is attached a circular object, and a shoulder-belt of beads. She is holding a peculiar object of mushroom shape in her left hand. In another vase-painting, *ibid.* II, pl. CLXXIX, text pp. 106 f., we find a seated woman, nude to the waist, with bracelets, necklace and shoulder-belt of beads. She is holding a mirror and a parasol. Beside her stands a youth with a thyrsus and fillets. In a scene entitled "Bac-

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[57] Cf. below, p. 63, n. 14.
[58] See De Ridder in Dar. et Sagl. IV, p. 1428, *s.v. Speculum.*
[59] *L.c.*, p. 169.
[60] Cf. below, p. 66 (bottom).
[61] Tischbein, *l.c.*, pp. 88 ff., calls the figures Lynceus and Hypermnestra, who are probably sacrificing before the altar of Jupiter Phryxius.
[62] Cf. the Dionysiac figures above, pp. 48–50. It is often impossible to tell whether the figures are supposed to be human or mythical.

chisches Hermendienst" by Gerhard, *Gesam. Abhand.* III, pl. 65, No. 5, we observe another half-nude woman, with a *situla* in one hand and a basket in the other, before a herm. She is adorned with a necklace and shoulder-belt of beads.

A *pelike* from Kertsch, Furtwängler-Reichold, *l.c.* 2nd ser., Taf. 87, described II, p. 138, shows a toilet scene in which six women appear. One is nude, crouching, while another pours water over her hair. She wears a plain white *balteus* over her left shoulder. Another figure, nude above the waist, has a similar shoulder-belt, white bracelets, and a necklace consisting of a white band with a row of dark spots. Eros is crouching at the left in front of a standing woman. In another scene of the same nature, Tischbein, *l.c.* III, pl. 35, two nude women in a crouching position are facing a large basin which stands on a tripod between them; one of the figures is holding a wreath, the other a *lekythus*. Both have bracelets and narrow cords over the shoulder and around the thigh. The shoulder-cord is tied at the side in a single bow, while a circular object about an inch in diameter is attached to the cord around the leg.[63] Eros is grasping the neck of the girl on the right, as he flies toward her, making it perfectly evident that the representation of the *cestus* is appropriate. A significant feature of the painting is that the young god also has a *balteus*, but one of beads. Apparently we have here two different forms of the *cestus*, a common, cheaper(?) one worn by the young women, and a more elegant one worn by Eros.[64] This raises an important question as to what the "cord" really was. If it was so simple as not to be ornamental, we might conjecture that it was worn as a love-charm; on the other hand, if it was something beautiful, for instance a fine, gold chain, we cannot be certain that it was anything more than an ornament. The constant association of these "cords" with rich jewelry makes the latter view seem the more probable.

Once again young women are discovered at their toilet in a mirror-engraving, Gerhard, *l.c.* V, Taf. 154, text V, pp. 203 f.

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[63] Cf. above, p. 53.

[64] Tischbein, *l.c.*, pp. 52–62, calls the winged figure in this and in its companion piece, III, pl. 36, Iacchus. Reinach, *Rép. d. Vas.* II, p. 37, gives the interpretation I have accepted.

One of the two, pouring water into a standing basin, is wearing a simple shoulder-cord, a bracelet and a necklace; the other, who is kneeling to wring out her hair, is unadorned.

A school scene is depicted in *Compte Rend. de la Com. Imp. Arch.* 1872, pl. VI, 1 (Dar. et Sagl. II, p. 474, fig. 2604). Several girls are playing musical instruments or reading, while a seated woman is in the act of chastising a nude boy. Over his shoulder this boy is wearing a cord to which a small, circular object is attached at the side (a *bulla* or amulet ?). On the other side of the vase, *ibid.* pl. VI, 2, there appear three girls and a seated youth, toward whom Eros is flying with a wreath. The young god is wearing a shoulder-belt of beads.[65]

A banquet scene is represented in Baumeister I, fig. 391. One of the three *hetaerae*, who is sitting on a couch with a stringed instrument in her hands, has a narrow belt over her left shoulder. The fact that an Eros is placing a wreath on her head indicates that the scene is highly idealized; and it is of the greatest significance that the god is crowning the girl who wears the *cestus*.

In another banquet scene, Tischbein, *l.c.* II, pl. 52, the two men, both half reclining, with garments over their lower limbs, and the nude flute player, are all adorned with shoulder-belts of beads. One of the men is embracing the hips of the girl, the other is holding a *phiale*. A *taenia* appears on the right.[66] A similar scene is represented in *Mon. Ined.* 200, in which three women, draped below the waist, all drinking, are adorned with radiated fillets, bracelets and shoulder-belts of beads. A clothed flute girl stands at the left, while a slave boy with *cyathi* appears at the right. He also has a shoulder-belt of beads, as well as a circlet of beads on his thigh.[67] This boy reminds us at once of the *puer* with whom our discussion started, and of *Ceste, decus mensae*.[68]

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[65] For the occurrence of two types of shoulder-belt in the same scene, cf. above, p. 54. Perhaps the boy's shoulder-belt is nothing more than the means for suspending his *bulla*, substituted for the usual necklace; see above, p. 42, n. 7. (For Eros' wearing of a shoulder-belt of beads, see above, p. 48, n. 34.)

[66] Tischbein, *l.c.*, p. 82, calls it a scene of Bacchic worship, in which the participants are "consecrated" by the symbol of the fillet.

[67] This scene might also be called one of Bacchic worship, in which the other figures are "consecrated" by the representation of a drunken Silenus below!

[68] Above, p. 19.

Shoulder-belts of various types are also found in simpler compositions representing what purport to be lovers. One such scene has already been described as the counterpart of a representation of Aphrodite (?) and Peitho (?).[69] Another occurs on an Apulian bell-crater in the museum of the University of Pennsylvania, case XIII, No. 94, *Catalogue of the Mediterranean Section*, p. 85. A nude youth wearing a wreath is facing a seated woman who holds a basket of fruit (?) toward him. The youth has bands of white, streaked with yellow, over his shoulder and around his thigh. The young woman, clothed only from the waist down, has a shoulder-belt of yellow beads. Her body is white and her breasts are outlined with yellow. Unfortunately the color of the beads is not of much assistance in determining the material of which they were composed, since other accessories, such as the youth's wreath, are done in the same color.

A partially clothed young man wearing a shoulder-cord and a wreath, and holding a peculiar staff with threecrosspieces, is represented in *Mon. Ined.*, 99. He is presenting a fruit to a clothed woman beside him. In another vase-painting, *Pitt. di Vas. Etrus.* III, pl. CCXL, two semi-nude youths appear, both with shoulder-belts of beads and other jewelry, one with a wreath, the other with a beaded fillet on his head and another in his hand. A woman stands between them. In Tischbein, *l.c.* II, pl. 17, are seen two girls and a nude boy who is reaching down toward a huge mouse (?). The boy is wearing a necklace and a shoulder-belt, both of which consist of cords to which are attached small, bead-like objects and larger circular ones with a dot in the center. The cord over the shoulder also shows ends, as if it were tied in various places.[70]

Single figures are not uncommon. On a *pyxis* in the British Museum, *Cat.* IV, F 473, p. 206, is represented a "female figure seated on a folding stool . . . with . . . open cap, radiated fillet with ends hanging down, earrings, necklace, bracelets, shoulder-belt of beads . . . in r. hand a wreath, in l. a

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[69] Above, p. 47.
[70] Cf. above, p. 48 (top).

phiale with fruit." On the other side of the vase is Eros with his shoulder-belt of beads. The association of the human figure with Eros, the wreath and a lover's special gift of fruit,[71] gives a perfect setting for the representation of a *cestus*.

An archaic terracotta, Dar. et Sagl. I, fig. 302, p. 255, represents a young girl, fully dressed, wearing a shoulder-belt which consists of a large, thick cord on which are strung hollow, cylindrical objects which appear to be several inches apart. She also has a bracelet, and a thick necklace to which are attached three disks (*bullae* ?). An erotic element may be suggested by the fruit in the girl's hand. A plain shoulder-belt appears on a marble statue of a child, Clarac V, pl. 878, No. 2237 c, text p. 150. The hands of the figure have been restored with cymbals. Clarac speaks of the *balteus* as being intended to support a quiver.[72] Under the heading "Éros et Enfants" Reinach, *Rép.d. Stat.* III, p. 129, No. 4, reproduces a small bronze figure of a child (?) wearing a very loose, plain shoulder-belt. The coarseness of the features probably indicates late workmanship.

I should like to mention in passing, some figures on which a garland appears as a shoulder-belt. Such an object could not be called a *cestus*, except in the broadest sense of the word,[73] but the significance of the form of the *balteus* is all the more strikingly evidenced when its material is trivial. The actual value of a *cestus* of beads or gold tends to lessen the quasi-religious sentiment attached to it; but the *balteus* of mere leaves or flowers owes its very existence to the persistence of a sentimental tradition. Such objects appear on figures of Eros,[74] and characters associated with Dionysus,[75] in connection with whom

[71] Cf. Mart. VII. 91.3, 4

cetera lascivis donavit poma puellis
mentula custodis luxuriosa dei.

See above, pp. 49 n. 40, 56, and below, pp. 60, 62 (top), 68.

[72] But see above, p. 47, n. 33.

[73] In which Varro uses it, above, p. 8.

[74] *Cat.* IV, F 107, p. 60 (above, p. 51); Reinach, *Rép. d. Stat.* II, p. 437, No. 5, IV, p. 273, Nos., 3, 4, 6 (all gold); *ibid.* II, p. 446, No. 1 (= De Ridder, *Bronzes Ant. du Louvre*, No. 495, pl. 37, p. 73).

[75] Tischbein, *l.c.* II, pl. 45, p. 78 (Dionysus and a Satyr; the Satyr also wears a wreath (?) around his thigh); Reinach, *Rép. d. Rel.* III, p. 359, No. 1 (Dionysus and a Satyr); *Cat.* IV, F 61, p. 42 (Satyr); *ibid.*, F 171, p. 86 (Silenus); Roux, *l.c.* V, pl. 58 (Pan, in a medallion from Herculaneum); Reinach, *l.c.* I, p. 73, No. 2 ("Centauresse") ; Roux, *l.c.* II, pl. 5, pp. 19–26 (a nymph (?) in a wall-painting which represents the education of Bacchus).

the real *cestus* is seen most frequently. I also noticed this form of shoulder-belt on a small boy (a slave?), in a symposium scene.[76]

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[76] Schreiber, *l.c.*, pl. LXXVI, fig. 2, p. 145 (a South Italian vase assigned to the fourth century. A youth and a *hetaera* are embracing each other, and two doves appear in the ground). Cf. above, p. 55, n. 68.

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A development from the shoulder-belt, which must next command our attention, is a double *balteus* or cross-belt, an object worn over the shoulders, crossing at the center of the chest or below it, and extending around the body to cross again at the back. Like the other form of the *cestus*, this too is apparently eastern in origin. I found a representation of one extremely crude terracotta from Susa, dated about 2750 B.C., limbless and shapeless, with cross lines which may represent the ornament in its earliest form.[1] Of more interest is a terracotta from Babylon, belonging to the Persian period, which represents the familiar nude woman with her hands at her breasts.[2] She is wearing a rather tight cross-belt which consists of a broad, feather-like band, with a large, rectangular plaque at the intersection in front.[3] However, to the best of my knowledge, the cross-belt does not appear in archaic Greek art, so that it lacks the dignity of long established tradition which attaches to the shoulder-belt worn by Urania. In the Hellenistic art of Italy it assumes importance after the shoulder-belt, though it occurs on Aphrodite and Eros, and in scenes even more strikingly erotic than those in which we have seen the simpler form of the *cestus*.

That this cross-belt was thought of as being analogous to the shoulder-belt we may infer from the fact that both forms of ornament appear in the same representations, under circumstances which would indicate that they possessed the same degree of erotic or quasi-religious significance. Tischbein, *l.c.* III, pl. 21 (Müller-Wies., LVI, No. 718, described III, pp. 25 f.)

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[1] Contenau, *l.c.*, fig. 61, p. 62. He gives the date which I have accepted.

[2] L. Heuzey, *Rev. Arch.* xxxix (1880), pp. 6–8, pl. I, No. 3; *Les Origines Orientales*, p. 8. For the nude woman with her hands at her breasts cf. above, pp. 31, 34.

[3] It gives the appearance of a clumsy necklace-pendant, such as that developed on figures of Artemis-Cybele in Cyprus, held snugly in place by the bands which pass around the back.

Attention might be called to the occurrence of a cross-belt of beads in Indian art, Lajard, *Recherches sur le Culte . . . de Venus en Orient et en Occident* II, pl. XIV, D, No. 6.

shows an Hermaphrodite riding in a wagon drawn by a panther and a griffin; Eros is walking in front of the team. The Hermaphrodite wears a cross-belt of beads, Cupid a shoulder-belt of the same material. Reinach, *Rép.d.Vas.* II, p. 363, pictures Aphrodite standing with a mirror in her hand, Eros hovering over a vase beside her; on the left are Pan and a Maenad, on the right a seated nude woman, and another standing. The goddess wears a cross-belt which consists of a cord to which a few beads (?) are attached; the seated woman has a shoulder-belt of the same sort.[4] A Faliscan crater, *Cat.* IV, F 479 a, pp. 208 f., pl. XIII, shows a remarkable collection of shoulder- and cross-belts. One figure of Eros, Hercules, and Iphitos have cross-belts of beads; Dionysus and Hermes have cross-belts represented by lines with rows of dots at both sides; Zeus, who has his arm around Alcemene, and Apollo Ismenios have shoulder-belts of the same type; a second figure of Eros, flying toward Zeus with a fruit, is wearing a simple shoulder-cord. A similar variation in the treatment of the little god of love is observed in the painting of the lids of two compartments of a *lepaste* of "Late Athenian" style, *Cat.* IV, F 139.1, 3 pp. 68 f. They represent figures of Eros, one with a shoulder-belt of beads, the other with a cross-belt of the same material. Both have circlets around the thigh, and one has bracelets. Underneath the lids are incised the letters "K" and "Δ" respectively, perhaps indicating that different artists did the work. But certainly both of them knew what attributes to give the young deity: they must have felt that the shoulder-belt and the cross-belt were equally appropriate.

In one case I found a shoulder-belt and a cross-belt on the same figure. A cinerary urn from Volterra, Martha, *L'Art Étrusque*, fig. 155, p. 199, has a reclining woman sculptured on its lid, fully clothed and bedecked with jewelry. She has an armlet, a bracelet, and a necklace of many short pendants, as well as a shoulder-belt, and a cross-belt attached to a girdle, both of which appear as bands of fine chain work. The girdle and the shoulder-belt are bordered with bead-like objects. One

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[4] Reinach, *l.c.*, gives the warning "Details suspects."

could hardly wish for better proof that the two forms of ornament we are considering were *genera ornatus mulierum* in Etruria at that time; this woman is obviously dressed up in the height of fashion to impress future generations with the wealth she enjoyed before she went the way of *Tullus dives et Ancus.*

With this striking evidence that the cross-belt was something real, and was so closely associated with the shoulder-belt that figures of Eros could be represented with either ornament on the same vase, we may proceed with our classification as before.

1. Aphrodite.[5] A bronze of Italiän workmanship, De Ridder, *Bronzes Ant. du Louvre* I, pl. 28, No. 326, p. 521, shows the goddess wearing a cross-belt which consists of a band represented as about an inch wide, marked by cross-bars approximately the same distance apart. She is nude to the waist, and has armlets of the same nature as the cross-belt. A cross-belt of feathery appearance, like that of the Babylonian figure already described,[6] appears on a late bronze statuette which was found in the same locality, *Gaz. Arch.* 1880, p. 29. The figure is described as "une confusion de la Venus oriental et de la Venus Anadyomène." Somewhat similar is the cross-belt of a very poorly executed, late bronze found in Thrace, *Rev. Arch.* 1897, pp. 299 f. It has a round boss at the intersection of the bands.[7]

A simple cross-cord is worn by Venus in two mirror-engravings which disclose her engaged in her toilet. Gerhard, *l.c.* V, Taf. 18, 19, text V, pp. 22–24. In the first, she is seated on a throne and wears a diadem; two attendant female figures also have cross-cords, but no plain necklaces such as the one which adorns the goddess. In the second, she has a cross-cord, bracelets, armlet and a necklace with a *bulla* attached. She is attended by Cupid (?) and a clothed woman. We also find a cross-cord worn by "Venus Piscatrix" in a wall-painting from Pompeii, Roux, *l.c.* III, pl. 110, pp. 37 f. She is sitting on a rock opposite Cupid. Her cross-belt, bracelets, armlets, necklace and wreath are all "formés d'un ruban d'or."

A cross-belt and necklace, both with beads attached, appear

[5] See also above, p. 60, below, p. 64.
[6] Above, p. 59.
[7] Cf. below, p. 63, n. 12.

on a bronze figure of Aphrodite, represented as nude, standing on one leg, Reinach, *Rép.d.Stat.* IV, p. 214, No. 8. She also wears a thick anklet and bracelets. Another small bronze of a clothed Aphrodite, De Ridder, *Bronzes de Clerq* III, pl. 20, No. 101, described p. 20, shows her in a high headdress, with a sceptre in one hand and a fruit in the other, wearing a cross-belt which has slipped down from one shoulder. It consists of a series of links (?) and cylinders, with a peculiar figure-eight device in the lower portion.

In a wall-painting from Pompeii, Roux, *l.c.* II, pl. 65, p. 199 (= Dar. et Sagl. I, p. 970, fig. 1248), Venus appears in company with Mars, adorned with gold bracelets, a gold fillet, and a lengthy cross-belt consisting of a cord to which gold pendants are attached.[8]

In another painting, *ibid.* II, pl. 75, p. 229, the goddess, attended by two Cupids, is represented in the background of a scene where Zephyr is flying toward Flora. She is not wearing a simple cross-belt, but rather a necklace to which is attached a long string of beads which passes around the lower part of the body in the manner of a cross-belt.[9]

2. Eros.[10] Two Apulian vases are described as showing Eros with earrings, necklace, beads around the thigh, and cross-belts of beads, *Cat.* IV, F 438 a., p. 195, F 443 a., p. 197. A Campanian *phiale*, *ibid.*, F 258, p. 119, is partially described: "The whole design is surrounded by a vine wreath . . . held by two Erotes . . . they havecross-belts, wreaths, circlets around l. thighs." Again we read, in the description of an *oinochoe* classified with "Apulian or Tarentine Vases," *ibid.*, F 574, p. 230, "On the body luxuriant flowers and tendrils, in the midst of which are two Nikae or Erotes, the one on the left . . . with . . . cross-belt, and wreath in l. hand; the other has a cross-belt and a tendril in r. hand . . . "

De Ridder, *Bronzes Ant. du Louvre*, pl. 43, No. 611, pp. 86 f., publishes a small figure of Cupid concerning which he says, ". . . la poitrine barée d'une guirlande double, qui est gravée."

[8] Cf. above, p. 52, below pp. 64 (bottom), 65 f.
[9] Cf. below, p. 65, n. 19.
[10] See also above, p. 60, below, pp. 65, 68.

But the plate shows a cross-belt indicated by a series of dots, which should probably be taken as representing beads, since that form of the cross-belt is the more common.[11]

Cupids wearing cross-belts also occur in the wall-paintings, which must have been less than a hundred years old in the lifetime of Martial and Valerius Flaccus. Roux, *l.c.* III, pl. 41, and pl. 147, pp. 99 f., each show three figures of Eros with plain narrow cross-belts. (In pl. 147 one of the figures has let his slip, so that it looks like a very long shoulder-belt.) More striking is a representation of the child-god in the House of Tiberius at Rome, Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen* III, No. 720, text II, p. 881. He is in front of his mother, who is seated on an elaborate throne, with Peitho at her back, and holds a long sceptre or wand. He wears a necklace, bracelets, an armlet (?), and a cross-belt which appears to be composed of oblong beads or links. There is a circular object at the intersection of the strands of the "belt."[12]

3. Dionysiac Characters. In Tischbein, *l.c.* I, pl. 49, p. 136, the two Satyrs represented are wearing cross-belts of beads, wreaths, beaded fillets and bracelets. The one in the center is trying to kiss a Maenad on the right. A vase-painting from Volterra of a degenerate, fantastic style characterized by the unnatural angles of the wrists,[13] shows two groups of women with a nude Satyr in the center of each group, *Pitt. di Vas.Etrus.* III, pl. CCLXXI, text p. 120. One of the Satyrs wears a plain cross-belt, the other a cross-belt of beads. The woman on the left in the lower group has an armlet, a necklace of characteristic Etruscan type,[14] and a plain cross-belt, carelessly indicated across her abdomen.

Another Satyr, Tischbein, *l.c.* I, pl. 45, p. 132, in company with Dionysus and a Silenus, is represented with a cross-belt of the same nature, bracelets, and a necklace of flowers.

A figure of Pan, *ibid.* II, pl. 40, p. 74 (= Müller-Wies., pl. XLIII, No. 537, text III, p. 47), carrying wine and a torch,

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[11] For the wearing of garlands in this form see below, pp. 68 f.
[12] Cf. above, p. 61, below, p. 66, n. 23.
[13] Cf. below, p. 67, n. 26.
[14] Cf. Martha, *l.c.*, fig. 155 (above, p. 60), below, p. 67.

presumably for an offering, is adorned with a cross-belt of beads and a fillet. In *Pitt. di Vas.Etrus.* II, pl. CXLV, text p. 63, a horned Satyr carrying a huge amphora and a pail has a cross-belt in the form of a band which appears to be nearly two inches wide.

An amusing comos scene is represented on a fourth century *oenochoe* from the vicinity of Aderno in Sicily, Benndorf, *Griech. u. Sicil. Vasenb.* III, pl. 44, pp. 91–97 (= Baumeister I, fig. 848, p. 790). The central figure is a drunken Hercules lying in front, with an old woman pouring water on him from what we are to imagine is a window. Maenads appear at either side, with Satyrs at both ends of the scene. These last are wearing bracelets, circlets around their thighs, and cross-belts which have the appearance of thick ropes.

Ariadne is wearing a simple cross-belt, as well as a necklace and earrings, in a wall-painting which represents her gazing off at Theseus' departing ship, Roux, *l.c.* III, pl. 106, pp. 30 f. She also appears in the presence of Bacchus in Gehard, *l.c.* IV, pl. CCIV, text IV, pp. 35 f. Here she has a cross-belt composed of a simple cord, an arm-band, and a short necklace with a *bulla*. In the same engraving is a half nude, seated figure, "Welche fur Venus oder auch fur Semele gelten kann," with bracelet, necklace, ear-pendant and a cross-belt of the same sort.

4. Other Mythical Characters.[15] In a mirror from the vicinity of Chiusi, *ibid.* V, Taf. 102, No. 2, text V, pp. 132 f., Paris is represented inspecting the three goddesses at their toilet. All of the deities have cross-belts with from one to ten cord-like pendants about five inches long with a circular object at the end. This form of cross-belt may be considered as representing a transitional stage in the development of the type seen in Roux, *l.c.* II, pl. 65.[16] The lateness of the work is indicated by the unnatural proportions of the figures, which are extremely long-waisted, and by the unusual background, which consists of dots.

An important vase-painting with a Latin inscription shows

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[15] See above, p. 60 for figures of Hercules, Iphitus and Hermes.
[16] Above, p. 62 and n. 8.

Jupiter,[17] Ganymede and Cupid, all wearing cross-belts of beads, *Röm. Mitt.* ii, Taf. X, pp. 231–233. Jupiter is seated, Ganymede is standing, while Cupid flies toward Jupiter with a wreath in his hand. Minerva also appears in the scene. The inscription reads: CANVMEDE . . . SPATER CVPICO MENERVA. Gammurrini, *l.c.*, p. 233, suggests that the vase was painted at Rome during the Hannibalic war.

A cross-belt of beads also appears on a female figure in a wall-painting about which there has been some dispute, Roux *l.c.* III, pl. 128, pp. 70–72. Barré, *l.c.*, calls her Diana, with Apollo and Callisto; others pronounce her one of the three goddesses on whom Paris passed judgment, a Grace or a Gorgon.[18]

Clarac, IV, pl. 747, No. 1805, text p. 307, shows Thetis riding on a sea-horse, wearing a developed form of the cross-belt in which a single string of beads, dividing to extend around the hips, is suspended from a short necklace in front.[19] The whole object is composed of large beads, close together (or the links of a chain ?). A Nereid (or a Bacchante ?) wearing a plain cross-belt is also represented riding on a sea-horse in a wall-painting from Stabiae, *Museo Naz. di Nap.*, pl. 47. In a companion piece to this, *ibid.*, pl. 46, from the same place, a similar figure is riding on a chimaera and giving it a drink from a *patera*. She wears what appears like a plain, narrow shoulder-belt, but the loosely flowing end probably made a complete cross-belt of it.

An Hermaphrodite[20] is wearing a cross-belt of beads as he is represented in a terracotta statuette, Müller-Wies., pl. LVI, No. 720, text III, p. 26. Short pendants of beads, hanging on each side of the abdomen, are added to the usual ornament.

Ganymede[21] is represented with a cross-belt of pendants in the relief decoration of a mirror from Cervetri, Reinach, *Rép.d.Rel.* II, p. 473, No. 4 (*Mon. dell'Inst.* viii 1867, tav. XLVII. 2).

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[17] Cf. Zeus wearing a shoulder-belt, above, p. 60.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 72. The evidence as to the amatory significance of the cross-belt, as seen, for instance, in the vase-painting last described, may justify our questioning the explanation of Barré.

[19] Cf. above, p. 62.

[20] Cf. above, p. 60 (top).

[21] Cf. above, p. 65 (top).

A boy with a rope-like necklace and anklets is being picked up by an eagle, to the consternation of the three other figures in the scene. A girl on the right, half nude, has the same sort of *cestus*.[22]

Scylla, with her fish-tails and dogs, holding a rudder in her hand, is represented with a plain cross-belt in Gerhard, *l. c.* V, Taf. 52, text V, pp. 66 f. She is also seen in a vase-painting, *Cat.* IV, F 218, p. 109, where she is wearing a cross-belt of beads. In both cases the *cestus* must symbolize her fatal charm.

The figure of a seated Sphinx, which forms the main part of a terracotta vase, Sieveking, *Die Terrakotten der Sammlung Loeb*, pl. 128, pp. 67–70, is adorned with a plain cross-belt with a circular object where the bands cross. Sieveking assigns the work to the first century A.D.

Cross-cords, with or without pendants, occur quite frequently on the nude women in mirror engravings of the "Dioscuri" type. Thus, although we may not be able to determine who the characters are supposed to be, the fact that cross-belts and shoulder-belts are worn in similar groups is of the greatest importance in our discussion. In Gerhard, *l.c.* III, pl. CCLXVIII 3, text III, pt. 2, pp. 319 ff, the nude female figure has a cross-cord with one pendant and a boss in the center at the intersection of the cords.[23] She also wears a crown.[24] *Ibid.* 5, 6 are almost identical, except that 5 has a plain cross-cord without pendant or boss. On another plate, *ibid.* IV, pl. CCCLXIX 3, text V, pp. 11 f., we have a scene entitled "Angebliches Urtheil des Paris,"[25] in which the woman is apparently dropping a garment from her shoulder. She is wearing a plain cross-cord with a boss in the center, and a necklace in the shape of a band which does not quite meet in front. A plain cross-cord is also worn by Atlanta in a scene with Meleager, Oeneus and another

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[22] Perhaps she is a sweetheart.

[23] Cf. above, pp. 63, n. 12, 66. This boss may be an indication of relatively late date.

[24] Cf. above, p. 52, n. 55.

[25] The seated figure on the left, supposed to be Paris, is holding a club.

man, *ibid.* II, pl. CLXXV, text III, pt. 1, p. 168.[26] Meleager is carrying the boar's head.

5. Human Beings. In a mirror-engraving to which is given the title, "Libera von Frauen Umgeben," three women with outlandish, bag-like headdresses are dancing on stones, *ibid.* III, pl. CLXXXI, text III, pt. 2, pp. 302 f. The central figure, supposed to represent Libera, and the one on the left, are nude. The latter has a plain cross-belt; both of them have rope-like necklaces. Apparently the figures are engaged in a ceremonial dance, in which the one with the cross-belt is playing a more prominent rôle.

A toilet scene, Tischbein, *l.c.* III, pl. 63 (Reinach, *Rép. d. Vas.* II, pp. 350 f.), depicts a fully clad woman with an alabastron, a nude woman and a boy, each with a strigil, and a Satyr; the nude woman is wearing a simple cross-belt. In *Pitt. di Vas. Etrus.* II, pl. CXXXI (p. 51) we find two Satyrs in company with two bathing women; one of them is grasping his lady's arm, while the other is playfully splashing water on the second woman. Both the women are nude, with bracelets, necklaces of long pendants,[27] and cross-belts, one plain, the other of beads. In a mirror-engraving of a "Frauenbad," Gerhard, *l.c.* IV, pl. CCCXVIII, text pp. 49 f., we observe three nude women, one kneeling and looking into a mirror, the others standing beside a basin. Of these, the one on the right, who has progressed farthest in her toilet, is wearing a necklace, a triple armlet, double bracelets, an anklet and a cross-cord.

In a vase-painting of a banquet scene, Dar. et Sagl. V, fig. 7348, p. 676, a woman is seen wearing a plain cross-cord. A youth with a "studded girdle and cross-belt," in addition to a fillet and a bordered chiton, is represented in a comos scene, *Cat.* IV, F 175 b. 2, p. 89.

Simpler compositions of a more or less erotic character also illustrate the wearing of the cross-belt. I shall first quote from

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[26] In view of the large number of such ornaments in mirror engravings, I cannot see the necessity of Gerhard's suggestion that this one served "zur Befestung des Köchers"; cf. above, p. 53, n. 59.

[27] Cf. above, p. 63, n. 14. The style of this vase is similar to that of the one referred to there, and both come from Volterra.

Walter's description of a *lekythos* of Athenian style, *Cat.* IV, F 110, p. 62: "A female figure seated to r. . . . holds out r. hand to a youth facing her, with curly hair, wreath . . . string of beads round l. thigh and cross-belt of same . . . In the field hang three strings of beads . . . "[28] In a vase-painting which shows two youths and a girl, who is holding a birdcage, Reinach *Rép.d.Vas.* II, p. 332, No. 2 (= Tischbein, *l.c.* IV, pl. 54), the nude youth is wearing a cross-belt of beads.[29]

The design on a painted *hydria* of Campanian style, *Cat.* IV, F 229, p. 112, is described as follows: "In the center is Eros . . . with fillet and cross-belt . . . above is a pigeon . . . Before him is a female figure with flesh painted white . . . radiated open cap, earrings, long girt chiton, cross-belt . . . in r. hand a phiale with fruit, in l. a wreath and a fan(?) . . . On the l. is a similar figure . . . with phiale . . . and a white *taenia.*" Eros, the pigeon, the *phiale* of fruit and the fan (or leaf?) all suggest the erotic character of the composition. The wearing of the cross-belt over a chiton is noteworthy.

A few single figures remain to be considered. An *askos*, moulded in the form of a woman's head and trunk, *Cat.* IV, G 157, p. 263, shows a "necklace and cross-belt of chain-pattern." A *kotyle* of coarse (late ?) workmanship, *Cat.* IV, F 488, p. 213, represents a beardless male figure with prominent breasts, wearing a cross-belt of beads. There are leaves in the field. The women represented on two cinerary urns from Volterra, Martha, *l.c.*, p. 40, fig. 8, Goodyear, *Roman and Medieval Art*, p. 41, fig. 41, are equipped with cross-belts of the feathery type already described.[30] Both are fully clad and loaded with other jewelry; the one published by Martha has four rings on her left hand, in which she is holding an apple.

Like the simple *balteus*, the cross-belt may be represented in the form of a garland. A little gold figure of Eros which forms the pendant of an earring, Reinach, *Rép. d. Stat.* II, p. 439, No. 4, shows an ornament of this sort. It appears as a heavy, rope-like object worn as a very loose cross-belt, with a rosette at

[28] Cf. above, p. 48, n. 37.
[29] Reinach gives the warning "Details suspects."
[30] Above, p. 61, n. 6.

the intersection in front. What may be intended as a cross-belt of leaves is represented by incised lines and dots in a small bronze of Cupid, Babelon, *Bronzes Ant. de la Bibliothèque Nat.*, No. 451, p. 201. The artist may have intended to represent more substantial pendants, such as beads.

The thick type of cross-belt is also to be observed on figures of Harpocrates, Reinach, *l.c.* III, p. 141, No. 6 (bronze), II, p. 481, No. 5 (silver). We have already called attention to the fact that Harpocrates takes on the characteristics of the Greeks' child-god, Eros.[31] In both of these figures he is represented with wings.

Although the cross-belt was to a large extent contemporaneous with the shoulder-belt and might even be represented on the same vase with it, it should probably be regarded as a development from the simpler form of *cestus*. None of the Greek or Italian cross-belts that I have found can be dated in the archaic period, whereas at least two of our shoulder-belts are assigned to the sixth century.[32] On the other hand, one of our cross-belts is supposed to be quite late.[33] Furthermore, while both forms are represented on Italian vases, the simple *balteus* predominates; and it should be noted that the most striking representation of a cross-belt which we found was on an exceptionally late "Campanian" vase with a Latin inscription.[34] The mirrors, on which both types of belt occur with almost equal frequency, are probably somewhat later than the vases.[35] In the art of Pompeii and the other towns destroyed in the great eruption of Vesuvius, the cross-belt comes to play the more important rôle, though the shoulder-belt is not entirely supplanted.

The two objects we are considering apparently have equal claim to the name *cestus*, since in cases where they appear together an erotic symbol is equally appropriate to the two figures

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31 Above, p. 51.
32 Above, pp. 43–45.
33 Above, p. 61.
34 Above, p. 64 f.
35 Above, p. 53, n. 58.

represented.[36] Generally speaking, both objects appear on similar figures, including Aphrodite, Eros, Satyrs and human beings. The cross-belt is observed in connection with a greater variety of mythical characters, but usually in scenes where a love-symbol is appropriate.

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[36] *E.g.* two Erotes together, or Eros with a shoulder-belt and an Hermaphrodite with a cross-belt, above, pp. 59 f.

CONCLUSIONS

The κεστὸς ἱμάς of Homer presents by far the most difficult problem we have had to face. The simplest way to dispose of it might be to assume that the shoulder-belt, such as we found on a Cypriote figure of Astarte, was a few centuries older than the figure in question, and that the author of the *Iliad* had such an object in mind. The objection to this would be that we hear of the Homeric Aphrodite's wearing a ὅρμος, that is, a long, multiple necklace. Nowhere do we find a shoulder-belt worn in connection with such a necklace; indeed the shoulder-belt appears to have been a development from a long necklace. Hence I have tried to develop the suggestion of Ohnefalsch-Richter that the κεστὸς ἱμάς was some form of long necklace with a pendant hanging down between the breasts. Such an ornament is frequently seen on representations of Aphrodite, and it corresponds with Homer's expressions as to the place in which the *cestus* was worn and the manner in which it was removed. But even if this was the *cestus*, it seems to me quite impossible to determine what sacred or magical properties it had in the eyes of the women who wore it or beheld it on figures of their goddess. Any line of reasoning which would use the words of the poet Homer as "proof" that the κεστὸς ἱμάς of the *Iliad*, or the necklaces of Cypriote women, were amulets or "mimetic charms" would make amulets of most of the watch-"charms" and other jewelry of today.[1]

The *cestus* referred to by writers of the Graeco-Roman period was either a shoulder-belt or a cross-belt, perhaps more commonly the latter by the first century of our era. Both objects, as we find them in works of art, correspond with what we learned from ancient authors as to the way in which the *cestus* was worn, the material of which it was composed, and the characters who

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[1] The long Cypriote necklace may have been a charm in its origin, or after it had developed into an impressive, "attractive" ornament. But we cannot be certain as to just what a majority of Cypriote women thought of it at any given time; and Robertson Smith's statement that "generally speaking jewels serve as amulets" awaits proof in a very large number of specific instances. See above, p. 32, n. 16.

wore it. This double nature of the *cestus* is in full accord with Festus' statement that it was a *genus quoddam ornatus mulierum*, "a kind of woman's ornament," hence subject to variation and development. Furthermore, we may think of this two-fold use of the word as representing a step in the process by which κεστός came, in the time of Photius, to mean any ornamental article of woman's attire.

The material of the *cestus* varied, as we should expect to be the case with any human finery. Lucian's statement that the object was worn by Urania and the Dea Syria, coupled with the occurrence of a plain shoulder-belt on a figure of Urania, might lead us to assume that a band or strap was the most sacred form of the *cestus*. Indeed it is a band with cross bars which appears on archaic figures of Astarte or Aphrodite, and a band ornamented with bosses and squares which we see in the hand of the Altoviti Venus;[2] and I have not seen a band of exactly the same kind on any human figure. At the same time it must be observed that the string of beads, to which Flaccus alludes, occurs on both divine and human beings, as does the object which appears as a simple cord. When Eros is represented with a shoulder-belt of beads in a scene which shows a youth wearing a "cord," it might seem that the beads are especially significant. But when we find conditions reversed, Eros with a cord and human beings with beads, it is evident that no distinction can be made. Cupid never wears a form of the *cestus* which is not seen on human beings; and his mother rarely does. It is possible that Urania may be credited with the introduction of the *cestus* into Italy, but after the ornament became fashionable, gods and goddesses had to content themselves with merely following the styles.

As to the characters who wore the *cestus*, we have found it on Aphrodite, Eros, and human women and boys, exactly as we were led to expect from the statements of ancient authors. Perhaps our most striking confirmation of literary evidence is seen in the representation of Aphrodite Urania wearing a shoulder-belt, which can hardly be anything more or less than the *cestus*

[2] Above, pp. 46 f.

which Lucian informs us the goddess wore. At the other end of the scale, we have the *cestus* of Martial's slave boy nicely illustrated in a vase-painting of a banquet scene, where the youthful attendant has a shoulder-belt of beads.[3] Furthermore, we have seen shoulder- and cross-belts represented in many scenes with a strong erotic element, which indicates that artists as a rule had the same sentimental feeling about the *cestus* as inspired the poetical effusions which form the basis of our discussion.

A question naturally arises as to whether the *cestus* was actually a love-charm, "Zaubermittel," worn because of its supposed magical efficacy in attracting admirers. I gravely doubt if it was. An object thought of as possessing magical power must necessarily owe its effectiveness either to its form or to the material of which it is composed. Both these factors are remarkably variable in the object we have been studying. I called attention to the fact that the power attributed to the *cestus* of Aphrodite—or rather Cupid—by Valerius Flaccus is comparable with the supposed effectiveness of Cupid's torch or arrow; and in the many poetical allusions to the power of the goddess' talisman in enhancing the charm of its wearer, we may see a simple transfer of the spirit of the divinity to the object with which she adorns herself. Furthermore, the tone of the passages in which the *cestus* is mentioned does not impress us with a feeling that their authors regarded its magic as anything but a poetical fancy. It may be doubted whether either poets or laymen took the *cestus* seriously, either as a sacred symbol or as an effective, human charm.

This suspicion is confirmed by the evidence that the object which Martial called a *cestus* was identical with the *catena* of Pliny, and possibly with the *catella* of other authors. Indeed throughout this paper I have used the word *cestus* to apply to what various Greek and Roman authors apparently meant when they used the term, without any desire to imply that it could not be called anything else. Varro does imply that *cestus* was a common word among persons whom he could refer to as

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[3] Above, p. 55 (bottom).

antiqui, perhaps Italians who lived in the period when the later vases and mirrors were produced; and that name was probably employed almost universally to the shoulder- or cross-belts worn by Aphrodite and Erotes. But I feel that we can never approach certainty as to what ordinary youths and maidens (?) called the objects with which they adorned themselves. The tradition attached to the *cestus* had broken down almost completely by the time of Photius. It may never have been as strong as we have been led to believe.

My final observation would be that the *cestus* was primarily a jaunty and striking ornament. It has relatively little significance for students who seek to determine what objects the ancients regarded with genuine religious awe, or what they employed in superstitious practices, the importance of which we are often inclined to overestimate.

APPENDIX

The Nose-Ring in the Old Testament

Mention has been made of the fact that the nose-ring as it occurs in Cyprus is apparently of eastern origin, derived from the Hebrews or their Semitic neighbors. References to the nose-ring in the Old Testament, coupled with the fact that the cult of Astarte-Aphrodite was to a large extent of eastern origin, make this relationship fairly clear. The question then naturally arises whether the nose-ring of the Hebrews was associated with the worship of the goddess or was simply an ornament. Ohnefalsch-Richter implies that it had a religious significance:[1] "I have been the first to succeed in demonstrating that the nose-ring is worn first by Astarte-Aphrodite and then by her priestesses, and to point out the significance of this fact for the Nezem, the nose-ring of the Bible." But let us examine the evidence.

We find in *Genesis* a description of the gifts sent by Isaac to Rebekah:[2] "And it came to pass as the camels had done drinking, that the man took a golden ring of half a shekel weight, and two bracelets for her hands of ten shekels weight of gold . . . and I put the ring upon her nose and the bracelets upon her hands." Here the object is certainly nothing but an ornament, as it is in a passage from *Exodus* which further illustrates its commonness:[3] "And they came, both men and women, as many as were willing-hearted, and brought brooches, and earrings (or nose-rings),[4] and signet-rings, and armlets (or necklaces) all jewels of gold." We even read that the Lord included nose-rings among the bounties he had bestowed on his chosen people:[5] "And I put a ring upon thy nose, and earrings in thine ears and a beautiful crown upon thy head." In *Proverbs* we

[1] *L.c.*, p. 267.
[2] XXIV 22, 47 (revised version).
[3] XXV 22 (an offering made at the request of Moses).
[4] My parentheses are marginal notes in the translation. The ambiguous meaning of the Hebrew original, *Nezem*, partially vitiates the evidence in this passage, as well as in some others.
[5] *Ezekiel* XVI 12.

find the nose-ring referred to in a striking figure of speech which presupposes complete familiarity with the ornament on the part of those for whose benefit it was written:[6] "*As* a jewel (or nose-ring) of gold in a swine's snout, *So is* a fair woman which is without discretion." And we find that its use persisted till the time of the *Talmud*, in which there is a specific prohibition of the use of nose-rings (as well as of other jewelry) in public places on the Sabbath.[7]

On the other hand, in Hosea "earrings (or nose-rings)" are associated with the worship of Baalim:[8] "And I will visit upon her the days of the Baalim unto which she burned incense; when she decked herself with her earrings (or nose-rings) and her jewels, and went after her lovers, and forgat me, saith the Lord." Here we are confronted with the difficulty of interpreting the Hebrew word for earring or nose-ring,[9] as well as with the question as to the closeness of the connection between the jewels and the Baalim: was their use confined strictly to special religious functions,[10] or did they simply represent the finery which women have always delighted in displaying on holy occasions?

Isaiah, writing a short time after *Hosea*, includes nose jewels in a long list of the luxurious ornaments which the Lord will take from his people in their day of reckoning:[11] "In that day the Lord will take away their anklets, and the cauls, and the crescents; and the pendants, and the bracelets (or chains), and the mufflers; and the headtires, and the ankle chains, and the sashes, and the amulets; and the rings, and the nose jewels . . ." In this passage there would seem to be no particular objection to nose jewels because of their association with heathen worship, but rather a general disapproval of women's love of finery, expressed in the spirit of our own Puritans or Quakers.

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[6] *Proverbs* XI 22.

[7] *Sabath* I, ch. VI *init.* (Rodkinson's translation.)

[8] *Hosea* II, 13.

[9] Cf. above, p. 75, n. 4. The mention of earrings in connection with the worship of "strange gods" increases the probability that earrings are meant here, rather than nose-rings. See above, p. 32 (top).

[10] Cf. Robertson Smith, *l.c.*, p. 452.

[11] *Isaiah* III, 18–21.

The authors of *Genesis*, *Exodus* and *Ezekiel* apparently saw nothing in the wearing of the nose-ring which was inconsistent with the worship of Jehovah; in *Proverbs* and the *Tulmud* the nose-ring appears as an ordinary, common ornament; Isaiah refers to it as an evidence of sinful worldliness. Hosea alone gives us a suggestion that it was associated with the worship of Baalim. (Though there is room for doubt whether he refers to the nose-ring at all.) The preponderance of evidence that it was a mere ornament inclines me strongly to the belief that it never had any more religious significance than the Sunday frocks of our grandmothers, or the silk hats of their husbands.

The fact that the nose-ring was a sacred object in the island of Cyprus has very little bearing on the question of its significance in the region of its origin, since it is almost axiomatic that the ornament was worn by human beings before it was attributed to a goddess. The nose-ring apparently made a sufficient appeal to Hebrew women to be retained as an ornament for many centuries; in Cyprus it gained so little favor that its use was restricted to the sanctuary of Astarte-Aphrodite.

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[1] Abbreviations used in the text are given in parentheses.

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